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THE

# EARLY ENGLISH DISSENTERS

## IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

(1550—1641)

Gateway Seminary Library

VOLUME II

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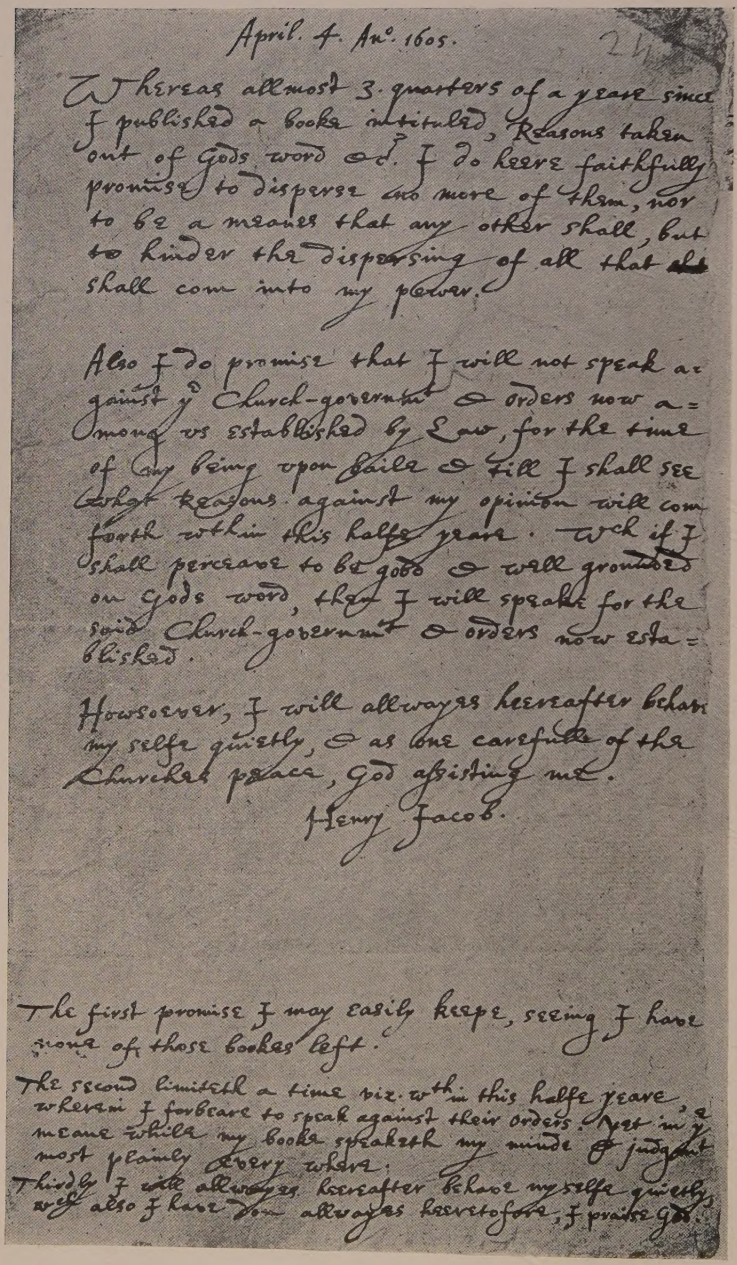

April. 4. Anº. 1605.

Whereas allmost 3. quarters of a yeare since I published a booke intituled, Reasons taken out of Gods word &c. I do heere faithfully promise to disperse noe more of them, nor to be a meanes that any other shall, but to hinder the dispersing of all that shall com into my power.

Also I do promise that I will not speak against ye Church-government & orders now amongst vs established by Law, for the time of my being upon baile & till I shall see what reasons against my opinion will com forth within this halfe yeare. Wch if I shall perceave to be good & well grounded on Gods word, then I will speake for the said Church-government & orders now established.

Howsoever, I will allwayes hereafter behave my selfe quietly, & as one carefull of the Churches peace, God assisting me.

Henry Jacob.

The first promise I may easily keepe, seeing I have none of those bookes left.

The second limiteth a time viz. within this halfe yeare wherein I forbeare to speak against their orders. Yet in y meane while my booke speaketh my minde & judgment most plainly every where.

Thirdly I will allwayes hereafter behave my selfe quietly, wch also I have don allwayes heretofore, I praise God.

FIRST PAGE OF HENRY JACOB'S COPY OF HIS SUBSCRIPTION, April 4, 1605. (*Facsimile.*) See Vol. I., page 285 and Vol. II., pages 151–3.

# THE EARLY ENGLISH DISSENTERS

## IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

## (1550—1641)

BY

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE

HON. M.A. (BROWN UNIVERSITY), B.LITT. (OXON.)

IN TWO VOLUMES

*Illustrated*

VOLUME II

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

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# PREFACE TO VOLUME II

THE documents herein brought together illustrative of the history of early English Dissent cannot of course claim the dignity of forming a complete "Corpus" of the literature relating to the subject, but they have been carefully selected from the mass of material now available for investigation. My aim in publishing these particular texts has been to present to the reader a number of the more inaccessible or historically valuable writings, many of which have as yet been only imperfectly or partially reproduced. Others have remained entirely, or almost entirely, unnoticed. The contents of this volume are likewise intended to supplement the narrative of volume I., as well as to illustrate it.

Such a selected Corpus has long been needed, for students, it is to be feared, have generally been much more familiar with what has been said by writers and historians of different points of view concerning this literature than with the manuscripts themselves, with resultant misunderstanding, or only partial understanding. Such papers, too, as are herein reproduced are all, with one exception, carefully located, whereas often in earlier works the location was not stated, thus sometimes requiring long search before the originals could be found. Further, in some cases only an imperfect translation of a document has up to this time appeared in print, so that students have been dependent for information upon the skill or candor of a translator.

Special mention should be made of the texts of a number of papers procured in Holland which are now for the first time reproduced in England as nearly as possible in their original form. Some of these were most difficult to decipher accurately even with the occasional help of the ablest Dutch manuscript specialists in the University Library, Amsterdam. No doubt my copies contain minor mistakes and imperfections which keen-eyed critics will be quick to detect. Even so, however, in case any injury should ever befall the originals themselves, approximately accurate texts of these manuscripts ought now to be preserved.

A typographical error may here be corrected. On page 309 Bob*er*ti Baffam should read Rob*er*ti Baffam.

C. B.

Oxford,
16 *December* 1911.

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# I

## HISTORICAL DATA RELATIVE TO THE ENGLISH CONVENTICLERS AT BOCKING AND FAVERSHAM IN 1550 AND 1551

[Various Depositions made about 1550.]

Here Folowithe the deposytions
of Iohn Grey william Forshall Laurence
Ramsey and Edmonde Morres productid
apon the firste x$^{th}$ and xj$^{th}$ articles /
aforessaid./[1]

Iohn Grey:

Item Examyned apon the firste article
Saythe that Cole of Fauersham apon /
Lam*m*as daye laste paste saide and affirmed
that the doctryne of predestynation
was meter for divill*es* then for *christ*ian men /

Item Examyned apon the x$^{th.}$ and xj$^{th}$
Articles saithe that henry harte aboute
bartholomewetide laste saide and affirmed
in the presence of divers that ther was
no man so chosen but that he mighte dampne
hime selfe Nether yet anye man soo /
reprobate but that he mighte kepe goddes
Comaundements.

He saide that Saincte paule mighte haue
dampnid hime selfe if he listed
And deposithe that harte saide that~/
Learned men were the cause of grete errors /

[1] Harl. MS. 421, fol. 133–34 verso, in the British Museum.

Laurentius Ramsaye

Item Examyned apon the x$^{th}$ article saithe that henry harte saide and affirmed as it is conteyned in tharticle that is that ther is no man so chosen or predesty nate. but that he maye condempne hime selfe. Nether is ther anye so reprobate but that he maye if he will kepe the co*mm*ande mente*s* and be salvid p*r*out liquet in suis depositionib*us*

Item Examyned apon the x$^{th}$ article saythe that harte saide that lernyd men were the cause of grete Errors /

Will*el*mus Forstall

Item Examyned apon the x$^{th}$ article he dothe agree in his deposytion withe the foresaide Laurence Ramseye

Item Examyned apon the xj$^{th}$ article saythe that henry harte saide the same tyme that his faithe was not growndid apon Lernyd men for all errors were broughte in by Lernyd men ∝ ///.

The depositions of m$^{r}$ Thomas Broke Roger Lynsey and Rycharde Dynestake Clarke productid apon the xiij and xiiij$^{th}$ articles of the Interrogatories aforesaid.

Item Examyned apon the xxj[?]$^{th}$ article he saithe that aboute xij monethes Sythen George Brodebridge saide and affirmed that goddes predestynation is not reteyne but apon condytion &c

Item Examyned apon the xxxix$^{th}$ and xl$^{th}$ articles he deposithe and saithe that the contentes of those articles hathe byn affirmed amonge them for a generall doctryne

Item Examyned apon the xlj$^{th}$ and xlij$^{th}$ articles he deposithe and provithe the congregation and the fame And ther goyng into Essex

Item Examyned apon the xlvj$^{th}$ article he deposithe that Cole of Maidestone saide and affirmed that children were not borne in originall Syne

Wille*l*mus grenelande

Item in aunsweringe to the xl$^{th}$ article he saithe that to playe at annye game for money it is Syn*n*e and the worke of the Flesshe

Item in aunsweringe to the xlj$^{th}$ xlij$^{th}$ and xliij$^{th}$ articles he confessithe the congregation and their Meating*es* at diuers places and ther going into Essex And also that he hathe contrybuted

Iohn plume de leneham

Item Examyned apon the iij$^{orth}$ and v$^{th}$ articles apon his othe Saithe that he beynge emonge the congregators he hathe herde it diuers tymes affirmed as a generall doctryne that they oughte not to Salute a Synner or a man whome they knowe not And that Luste after Ivill was not Syn*n*e, if that were not co*m*mitted

Item Examyned apon the xiij$^{th}$ and xiiij$^{th}$ articles he saithe that vmfrey Middilton beyng in Coles house at fauersham apon Lam*m*as daye he saide that Adam was elected to be salved And that all men / being then in Adams Loynes were predestynate to be salvid and that ther were no reprobates and in his defence he alleaged the doctryne conteyned in the xiij$^{th}$ article

Item Examyned apon the ix$^{th}$ article
he saithe that it is a generall
affirmation emonge them, that the
preachinge of predestynacyon is
a dampnable doctryne

Item Examyned apon the xvj$^{th}$
article he deposithe and saithe that
Nich*o*las Yonge saide that they wolde
not comunycate w$^{t}$ Synners /

[Extracts from the "Privy Council Register" of 1550–1553 relating to the year 1551.]

A Le*ttr*e to the Lorde Chancell*o*ur to sende hither [Vpcharde] the man of Bocking that was examyned by him[1]. [Under the date Jan. 26, 1550/1.]

[2]Vpcharde of Bocking was brought before the Counsaill tooching a certein assemble that had been made in his howse in Christm*as* last who confessed that were [*sic*] certein kenttishemen to the towne to ha[ve] Lodged w*i*th goode man Cooke. And bicause Cookes wief was in Childebed, thei cam[?] to this vpcharddes howse weare Cooke was th[en] at dinner and by Cook*es* entreatie there thei were Lodged. And vpon the morowe which was Soundaie[?] divers of the towne about xij of the clocke came in and there thei fell in argument of thing*es* of the Scripture, sp*e*ciallie wheather it were necessarie to stande or kneele, barehedde, or covered at prayer. whiche at length was concluded in ceremonie not to be materiall, but the hart*es* before God was it that imported, and no thing els, And bicause it seemed suche an assembley being of lx p*er*sons or moo, shulde meane some great matter, therfore bothe the said vpcharde and one Sympson of the same sorte was co*m*mitted to the

[1] "Privy Council Register 1550–1553", in the Public Record Office, p. 205.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

Marshalsie, till further triall were had, and order taken that lettres shulde be sent bothe into Essex and kent for thapprehension of these that arr accoumpted chief of that practise /. [Under the date Jan. 27, 1550/1.]

A [1]Lettre of sir George Norton knight Shrief of Essex tapprehende certein persons wose [*sic*] names were sent enclosed in a scedule and to sende them hither that none of them haue conference with other.

The parsons sent for, were of those that were assembled for Scripture maters in Bocking. viz

Iohn Barrett of Stamphorde Coweherde
Robert Cooke of Bocking Clothier
Iohn Eglise of the same clothier
Richard Bagge
Thomas pygrinde
Iohn kinge.
. Myxsto
. Boughtell
Robert Wolmere

A like lettre to sir Edwarde wootton and sir Thomas wyat tapprehende and sende vp these persons folowing

William Sibley of lannams
Thomas yonge of the same
Nicholas Shetterton of Pluckley
Iohn Lydley of Asheforde
. Chidderton of Asheforde
Cole of Maydestone Sholemaster. / [Under the date Jan. 27, 1550/1.]

This daie [Feb. 3, 1550/1][2] william Sibley & Thomas yong of lenham Nicholas Sheterenden and Thomas Sharpe of Pluckeley . Coole of Maydestone, appeared before the Counsaill, being of those that assembled at Bokyng in Essex. /
like wise vij others of Essex appeared the same daie bothe which being examyned confessed the cause of their assemble to be for talke of Scriptures, Not denyeng but thei had refused

[1] "Privy Council Register 1550–1553", p. 207. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

the co*m*munyon aboue ij yeres, vpon verie sup*er*stitiouse and erronyose purposes: withe Divers other evill oppynyons worthie of great punyshement. Wherevpon Boughtell Barrey Coole william Sibley and Nicho*l*as Shittrenden were co*m*mytted to

Ioh*ann*es Eglins, Thomas Myxer, Ric*ard*us Blagge Thomas piggerell et Ioh*ann*es king de Bocking in Essex recognouer*unt* &c in xl$^{li\bar{b}ras}$ pro quolib*et* eor*um*.

The Condicon [*sic*] tappeare whan thei shalbe called vpon, and to resorte to their ordinarie for resoluc*i*on of their oppynyons in cace thei haue any doubte in religion

The like Recognisaunce taken of Thomas Sharpe of plukeley and Nicho*l*as Yong of lenham. /

## II

### INFORMATION CONCERNING THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ROBERT COOCHE

[Part of a Letter of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Dr. Rodolphus Gualtherus, dated June 29, 1574.]

Magna nostra Comitia in 20 diem Octobr*is* sun*t* dilata. Quo quidem tempore Thimelthorpus coget*ur* (vti spero) vnanimi om*ni* consensu et Reginae et mihi satisfacere. Ante illud tempus nihil certi de illo possum pronunciare. De controu*er*sijs nostris circà Ceremoniolas quasdam, de Rob*er*to Coochaeo, et alijs rebus no*n*nullis, in superiorib*us* meis l*itte*ris satis fusè scripsi[1].

[Part of another Letter of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Dr. Rodolphus Gualtherus of Zürich, dated, Feb. 6, 1574/5.]

Robert*us* Coochaeus est vir valdè humanus, et in arte musica bene doct*us*. Cu*m* ego in Aula Reginae Catharinae concionator essem, fuit ille in Cella*m* vinaria*m* promus. Contrà hunc scripsit libellu*m* (du*m* in viuis esset Edouardus Rex) clarrissim*us* ille medicus et doctissim*us* Theolog*us* D. Gulielmus Turnerus, in quo illius sententia*m* de peccato originali refutauit. Perperam item *tam*en de baptismo infantu*m* sentiebat. Insolita de Caena d*omi*ni somniauit. Saepissimè Couerdalo et mihi in hisce controu*er*siis[?] negotiu*m* facessebat, ità ut illius nos taederet. Erat v*er*bocissimus. Cu*m* Iuellus et alii docti viri mei in*u*isendi gratia in Aulam venissent, is statim de hisce rebus cu*m* illis agere caepit, nec finem loquitandi facere potuit.

[1] MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Press-mark Ee. 2. 34 (23).

Nunc etiam in Aula Reginae mansitat. Et Reginae in bella est cantor ipse capella. Hec est illius conditio. Hanc quoque conditionem ferè propter tales opiniones ante paucos annos amisit. Sic enim dux Norfolciae cum viueret mihi narrabat. Palinodiam quoque tamen temporis cecinit, ut ex eodem duce audiui. Hactenus de Cochaeo. Non est respondendum stulto secundum stulticiam suam. vt doleo...[1]

[1] MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Press-mark, Ee. 2. 34 (20).

## III

### DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE PURITAN PLUMBERS' HALL CONGREGATION AND TO THE SEPARATIST "PRIUYE CHURCHE" OF RICHARD FITZ, WHICH "SECEDED" FROM IT

[A List of the members of the Plumbers' Hall congregation taken prisoner on March 4, 1567/8.][1]

Parsons fownde to gether within the parishe of S[t] martens in the felde in the howse of Iames Tynne gooldsmythe the forthe daye of marche 1567 as here after Followethe &c

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Lawrence Ryppleye dwellinge at Allgate | · |
| 2 | Wyll*i*am yonge dwellinge in Temesstrete | .. |
| 3 | margarette Sawyer of temestrete | .. |
| 4 | Elizabethe [?] Langtone at Algate | · |
| 5 | Androw [?] Waterhowse at Dowgate | ... |
| 6 | Wyll*i*am Tomlyne at Charterhowse Lane | :: |
| 7 | Alis Appletaste in Sowthewarke | :: |
| 8 | Markes Golddinge in Smythfylde | ::: |
| 9 | Wyll*i*am Collingham in Dysstafe Lane | 7 |
| 10 | Roger Nycolls of S[t] martens in the fylde | 8 |
| 11 | Thomas Ludburte in Lyttell wodstrete | 9 |
| 12 | Myghell Bowyer in marke Lane | 10 |
| 13 | Bryane wylles in Charterhowse lane | :: |

[1] S. P., Dom., Eliz., Vol. 46 (No. 46). This valuable document was discovered several years ago by Dr F. J. Powicke, and the substance of its contents is given in his "Lists of the early Separatists", in the "Transactions" of the Congregational Historical Society, Vol. I., pp. 141–3. As the original document is much worn, a verbatim copy has now been made.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14 | Annys Smythe at Crypplegate | 11 |
| 15 | Rowland Sclyforde at London stone | 12 |
| 16 | Ione Evanes in Holborne | 13 |
| 17 | Ione Edwardes at aldermaneburye | 14 |
| 18 | Randall partridge in olde fyshe strete | 15 |
| 19 | Thom[a]s Bowllande in temestrete | .. |
| 20 | will*iam* whighte at S$^{t}$ Iones Strete [?] | 16 |
| 21 | Iohn Kynge at yslyngtone | 17 |
| 22 | Iohn Smythe at Dysstafe Lane | 7 |
| 23 | Robart Tod [?] in Dysstafe Lane | 7 |
| 24 | Thomas Hancoke in Aldersegate strete | 18 |
| 25 | Iames Irelande in Cheker allye in Sowthwark | :: |
| 26 | Edwarde Burdbye and his wyfe at S$^{t}$ gyles at ludgate | 19 |
| 27 | Elizabethe Langtone in Swethen Lane | 20 |
| 28 | Elizabethe Phennyxe at S$^{t}$ marye overies | 21 |
| 29 | Rob[e]rte Bonde and his wyfe at S$^{t}$ gyles at ludgate | 19 |
| 30 | Samuell Rodggers in Smythefelde [?] | ::: |
| 31 | Symonde goldinge in Smythefelde [?] | ::: |
| 32 | Wyll*iam* Nyxson at quenehive [*sic*] | 22 |
| 33 | margerye Vennye in Bred strette | 23 |
| 34 | mawdelyne Vennye in Bred strete | 23 |
| 35 | Richard morecrofte and his wyfe in Aldersgat strete | 18 |
| 36 | Iohn Iohnsone in Bushopesgate strete | 24. |
| 37 | Iohn Leonarde and his wyfe in holborne | 13 |
| 38 | Annys wrighte in Barmeseye strete | 25 |
| 39 | Alis Hassellwode in pater noster Rooe | 26 |
| 40 | Annys Lyttellcoate at Hoggesdone | 27 |
| 41 | Alis Vanes in the Tower | 28 |
| 42 | Ellyne Buggburte in hartestrete | 29 |
| 43 | Iohn Bovlte [Boulton ?] in S$^{t}$ martens | 30 |
| 44 | Annys Rowles in Holborne | —13 |
| 45 | Anne Phyllipes at S$^{t}$ Thomas apostels | 42 |
| 46 | margarette Stockes in aldersgate [?] strete | 18 |
| 47 | George wayddye in flyt [?] strette [?] | 31 |
| 48 | Thomas Harysone at [illegible words] | 23 |
| 49 | Iames Andertone in Dysstafe lane | 7 |
| 50 | Annys Staltone in Cornwell | 32 |
| 51 | Annys Lacye in aldersegate strete | 18 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 52 | Wyll*ia*m grenne and his wyfe in holborne | 13 |
| 53 | Ione Strynger at S$^{t}$ Androwes Vndershafte | 33 |
| 54 | Annys Ropper at S$^{t}$ androwes Vndershafte | 33 |
| 55 | Elizabethe [?] Fawkener at S$^{t}$ Andros Vndershafte | 33 |
| 56 | Avis [?] Carye at Bysshopes gate | 24 |
| 57 | margaret Iones at S$^{t}$ myghells in Cornwell | 32 |
| 58 | margerye Browne in Burder Lane | 34 |
| 59 | Katheren Bawdwyne in aldersegate strete | 18 |
| 60 | Elizabethe Bamford in Bowe Lane | 35 |
| 61 | *christ*ofer poorke in olde fyshe strete | 15 |
| 62 | Annys Hawkes at S$^{t}$ Antonyes | 36 |
| 63 | Katheren whighte at Ludburye | 37 |
| 64 | Cycillye Holtore [?] in aldersgat strete | 18 |
| 65 | Elyne Esecoote in S$^{t}$ bennet*es* p*a*rishe | 38 |
| 66 | Ione Knowles in S$^{t}$ Bennet*es* p*a*rishe | 38 |
| 67 | Garrete Speker in S$^{t}$ Clement*es* p*a*rishe | 39 |
| 68 | Edde Burris in more Lane | 40 |
| 69 | Elizabethe Turner in more Lane | 40 |
| 70 | Elizabethe gylte in Lyttell wodstret | 9 |
| 71 | Elizabethe Sclake at S$^{t}$ gyles at ludgate | 19 |
| 72 | Katheren Hassellwode in berebynder lane /[1] | 41. |

["A promyse made by Will*ia*m Bonam precher", 1569, together with the names of twenty-four members of the Plumbers' Hall Congregation who were discharged from Bridewell on April 22, 1569.][2]

*A promyse made by William Bonam precher.*

1569 Memorand*um* that I *William Bonam*, do Faiethfullie p*ro*mise, that I will not at anie tyme hereafter vse anie publique prechinge or open readinge or expoundinge of the scriptures. nor cause, neither be p*rese*nte at anie privat Assemblies of praier, or expoundinge of the scriptures or m*ini*steringe the co*mmun*ion in anie howse, or other place, Contrarie to the state of religion nowe by publique authoritie established, or contrarie to the Lawes of this Realme of *England*, neither will I invaie ageinste any rites or ceremonies vsed or Receaved by com*m*on auctoritie within this Realme. /

[1] Thus seventy-two persons from forty-two streets or localities.

[2] Lansdowne MS. xii., fol. 67–8, in the British Museum.

This promise was read and declared by the said *William Bonam,* before M^r^ Thomas Hinck Doctour of Lawe, and vicar generall to the right reverend Father in god *Edmond* Bisshop of *London,* at his howse in *pater noster Rowe* in *London,* the Firste daie of *Maie* i569 for the performaunce, whereof the said *William Bonam* hath faiethfullie promised for to obserue the same./ Beinge also *present*e at the readinge therof, Thomas Iones deputie to m^r^ *Bedell,* Clerk to the Quenes M*aiestes* Commissione^rs^ for causes Ecclesiasticall //

1 *Iohn Smythe*
2 *Iohn Roper*
3 *Robert Hawkins*
4 *Iames Irelande*
5 *William Nyckson*
6 *Walter Hynckesman*
7 *Thomas Bowlande*
8 *George Waddye*
9 *William Turner*
10 *Iohn Nayshe*
11 *Iames Anderton*
12 *William Wight*
13 *Thomas Lydforde* [*Ludburte?*]
14 *Richard Langton*
15 *Alexander Lacye*
16 *Iohn Leonarde*
17 *Robert Todd*
18 *Roger Hawkesworth*
19 *Robert Sparrow*
20 *Richard kinge*
21 *Christofer Colman*
22 *Iohn Benson*
23 *Iohn Bolton*
24. *Robert Gates* /

All theis persons before written wer dyschardged

*out* of *Brydewell*, besides seven women also prisoners there the xxij$^{th}$ day of Aprell 1569, by a warrant dyrectid from the right reuerende father in god Edmond Bishop of London to the Governours there.

The trewe markes of Christes churche, &c.[1]

The order of the priuye churche in London, whiche by the malice of Satan is falselie slaundred, and euell spoken of.

THe myndes of them, that by the strengthe and workinge of the almighty, our Lorde Iesus Christe, haue set their hands and hartes, to the pure vnmingled and sincere worshippinge of God, accordinge to his blessed and glorious worde in al things, onely abolishinge and abhorringe all tradicions and inuentions of man, what soeuer in the same Religion and Seruice of oure Lord God, knowinge this alwayes, that the trewe and afflicted churche of oure Lorde and sauyoure Iesus Christe, eyther hathé [*sic*], or else euer more continually vnder the crosse stryueth for to haue. Fyrste and formoste, the Glorious worde and Euangell preached, not in bondage and subiection, but freely, and purelye. Secondly to haue the Sacraments mynistred purely, onely and all together accordinge to the institution and good worde of the Lorde Iesus, without any tradicion or inuention of man. And laste of all to haue, not the fylthye Cannon lawe, but dissiplyne onelye, and all together agreable to the same heauenlye and allmighty worde of oure good Lorde, Iesus Chryste.

Richarde Fytz, Minister

[The Separatist Covenant of Richard Fitz's Congregation.][2]

BEyng throughly perswaded in my conscience, by the working and by the worde of the almightie, that these reliques of Antichriste be abominable before the Lorde our God.

[1] Printed in black letter on one side of a small leaf. S. P., Dom., Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107. 1).

[2] Printed in black letter on one side of a small folio leaf. S. P., Dom.,

And also for that by the power and mercie, strength and goodnes of the Lorde my God onelie, I am escaped from y^e^ filthynes & pollution of these detestable traditions, through the knowledge of our Lorde and sauiour Iesus Christ:
And last of all, in asmuch as by the workyng also of the Lorde Iesus his holy spirite, I haue ioyned in prayer, and hearyng Gods worde, with those that haue not yelded to this idolatrouse trash, notwithstandyng the danger for not commyng to my parysh church. &c,
Therfore I come not backe agayne to the preachynges. &c, of them that haue receaued these markes of the Romysh beast.

1. ¶ Because of Gods commandement, to go forewarde to perfection. Hebrew. 6. verse .1. 2. Corinth. 7. verse .1. Psalm. 84. verse .7. Ephesi .4 verse .15
Also to avoyde them. Roma. 16. verse .17. Ephesi. 5. verse .11. 1. Thessal. 5. verse .22.
2. ¶ Because they are abominations before the Lorde our God. Deut. 7. verses .25. and .26 Deutero. 13. verse .17. Ezekiell. 14. verse .6.
3. ¶ I wyll not beautifie with my presence those filthy ragges, which bryng the heauenly worde of the eternall our Lorde God, in to bondage, subiection, and slauerie.
4. ¶ Because I would not communicate with other mennes sinnes. 2. Iohn. verses .9. 10. and .11. 2. Corinth. 6. verse .17. Touch no vncleane thyng. &c. Sirach. 13. verse .1.
5. ¶ They geue offences, both the preacher & the hearers. Rom. 16 ver. 17. Luke. 17. verse .1
6. They glad [*sic*] and strengthen the Papists in their errour, and

Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107. II). I think that Dr Waddington failed to see the significance of this paper. It evidently took the place of a church covenant, and was to be accepted by all the members of the congregation when they joined it. The document is not, therefore, a statement of the grounds whereby some one particular person justified his separation from the Church of England. It is rather a covenant (though the form of a covenant is more implied than manifest) with a statement of the grounds of separation added.

greue the godlie. Ezekiel. 13. verses .21. and .22. *Note this 21. verse. &c.

7. ¶ They doo persecute our sauiour Iesus Christ in his members. Actes. 9. verses .4. and .5 2. Corinth. 1. verse .5.
Also they reiecte and despyse our Lorde and sauiour Iesus Christ. Luke. 10. verse .16.
Moreouer those labourers, whom at the prayer of the faithful, the Lorde hath sent furth in to his haruest: they refuse, and also reiect. Math. 9. verse .38.

8. ¶ These Popish garments. &c, are now become very Idolles in deede, because they are exalted aboue the worde of the almightie.

9. ¶ I come not to them because they shoulde be ashamed, and so leaue their Idolatrous garments. &c. 2. Thessal. 3 verse .14. Yf any man obey not our sayinges, note him. &c.

¶ God geue vs strength styl to stryue in suffryng vndre the crosse, that the blessed worde of our God may onely rule, and haue the highest place, to cast downe strong holdes, to destroy or ouerthrow policies or imaginations, and euery high thyng that is eralted [exalted] against the knowledge of God, and to bryng in to captiuitie or subiection, euery thought to the obedience of Christ. &c. 2. Corinth. 10 verses .4. and .5. &c, that the name and worde of the eternall our Lorde God, may be exalted or magnified aboue all thynges. Psalm. 138. verse .2.

¶ FINIS.

["B. of London. Puretans."][1]

O Englande, yf thou returne, returne vnto me, saythe the Lorde, Ierem[y ?] 4. [?] verse .1.

We the poore afflicted & your humble and obedient subiectes in the lorde most ernestly desyer, that the word of our god may be set to raygne, and haue the hiest place, to rule & reforme

[1] S. P., Dom., Eliz., Addenda, Vol. xx (107). This MS. was probably written by Harry Sparowe.

all estates and degrees [o]f men, to build and plante his holy sygnes and true markes, to cut downe, to roote out, and vtterly destroy by the axe of the same his holy word, all monumentes of Idolatry, to wit, that wicked cannon law, which is the onely roote, out of the whiche these abhominable braunshes do growe, as forked cappes, & tipetes, surplices, copes, starche cakes, [godfathers & godmothers][1] popishe holy days, forbidding of mariages and meates which the holy gost our almighty calleth doctrines of devills as in the .1. timothie .4. verses .3. 4. more to destroy idoles [?] temples & chapels whiche the papistes or infideles haue builded to the service of their godes. Our god hath straytly commaunded & charged his people Israell chiefly the governours as in dewteronomie .16. verse .20. with the note. & so in them ye maiestrates of our tyme, not to vse in his service, the manners, fashions, or customes of the papistes, but contrary wyse vtterly to destroy them, to consume them, and abhorr them dewte .7. verse .26. whiche holy commaundement of the almighty our god yf it be not executed spedely, the lordes wrathe will surely breake out vpon this whole reallme of england as in numbers .25. verse .3. .9. & for such abhominations our god will cause this land to spew vs out as in leviticus .20. verse .22. the allmightie our god will not allway suffer suche dishonour to his blessed evangell, whiche for the sinnes and tryall of his people he suffreth the papistes and newters, faulse brethren, and domesticall enemies to suppresse, to wrest, and abvse to serve their purposes, (as they perswade them selves) yet for all their policye and fyne pinnyng these abhominations aboue named with many other, are no more able to stand in presence before the word of our god having the power of discipline, then dagon was able to stand before the lord his holy arke the power wherof threwe downe dagon twyse to the dust as in .1. samuell .5. verses .3 .4. Therefore according to the saying of the almighty our god mathew .18. verse .20. wher ij or iij are gathered in my name ther am I. so we a poore congregation whom god hath seperated from the churches of englande [?] and from the mingled and faulse worshipping

Dew. 31°. 23. Iosua. 1. verses. 7. 8. 9.

[1] The words in square brackets appear to have been added in another handwriting.

therin vsed, out of the which assemblies the lord our onely saviour hath called vs, and still calleth, saying cume [?] out from among them, and seperate your selves from them & touche no vnclean thing, then will I receyue you, and I wilbe your god and you shalbe my sonnes and doughters sayth the lord. 2. corinth .6. verses .17 . 18. so as god geveth strength at this day we do serue the lord every saboth day in houses, and on the fourth day in the weke we meet or cum together weekely to vse prayer & exercyse diciplyne on them whiche do deserve it, by the strength and sure warrant of the lord*es* good word as in mathew. 18 verses 15 . 16 . 17 . 18 . / .1. corinth . 5 . / but wo be vnto this cursed cannon Lawe the gayne [?] wherof hath caused the byshop*es* and clargi of england to forsake the right way and haue gone astray, folowyng the way of baalam sonn of bosor, which haue throughe their pompe and covetousnesse broughte the gospell of our saviour Iesus christ into suche sclaunder and contempte, that men do thinke for the most part that the papist*es* do vse and hold a better religion then those which call them selves christians, and ar not, but do lye revela. 3 verse .9. the holy gost sayth. I behold another beast cummyng [?] vp out of the earthe which had ij hornes lyke the lame, so this secrete and disguysed antechrist [?] to wit, this cannon l[a]w with [?] the braunshes and [?] their [?] maintayners thoughe not so openly, haue by lon[g]e inprisonment [?] pyned & kylled the lord*es* servant*es* (as our minister Rycherd fitz) thomas bowlande deacon / one partryge) & gyles fouler / & besydes them a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations and people and tounges as revela. 7. verse .9. whose good cause and faythfull testimony though we should cease to grone and crye vnto our god to redresse suche wrong*es* & cruell handelyng*es* of his pore member*es*, the very walles of the prisons about this citye, as the gatehouse, brydewell, the counters, the kyng*es* benche, the marcialsey, the whyte lyon, would testifye god*es* anger kyndlyde agynst [*sic*] this land for suche iniustyce and subtyll persecucion.

ɜter .2. ɜ .15

hew verses 35.

O Lord god almyghty graunte, for thy mercyes sake, that as Iehosaphat, in the iij$^{th}$ yeare of his raygne destroyed the hye

places and groves, out of Iudahe, and sent his prynces and priestes, and gaue them the boke of the lawe with them to reforme religion by, and so feare came vpon every citye that they made not ware agaynst Iehosaphat So Lord we most humbly beseche the to strengthen the quenes hi[g]hnesse [*sic*] with his holy spirit that in the .13th yeare of her reygne [1571], she may cast downe all hye places of Idolatrye with in her land, withe the popyshe can*n*on Lawe and all the supersticion and commaundement*es* of men, and to plucke vp by the root*es* all filthi ceremonies perteynyng to the same, and that her highnesse may send forth princes and ministers and geue them the booke of the Lord, that they may bryng home the people of god to the purity and truthe of the apostolycke churche, Then shall the feare of the Lord cume vpon every citye and cuntrye, that they shall not make warre agaynst her highnesse, no the very enemies that be with out, shalbe compelled to bring present*es* to her grace, thus olord [*sic*] graunt that her highnes may not onely haue a blessed, longe, and prosperous reygne, with peace of conscience in this life, but also in the lyfe to cum, her highnesse may enIoye [*sic*], by the merites and death of christ Iesus our onely saviour, lyfe everlastyng, to whome with the father and the holy gost be all honour and glory for ever and ever amen.

Ioane Abraha*m* [mark][1]
Constance foxe [mark]
in white Chappell streate — Eliz. slacke
Annes Hall [mark]
Marg Race [mark]
Helene stokes [mark]
Eliz. Balfurth [mark]
Sara Cole [mark]
by me Harry sparowe.
By me Iohn King.
by me Iames awbynes
by me Ihon Leonarde.
by me George Hares. [mark]

Ihon Thomas [mark]
Annes. Evance [mark]
Elizabeth Leanord*es* [mark]
Ioane Ireland [mark]
by me Iasper weston
Marten [?] tilmans [?]
Ihon Davy [mark]
edye Burre [?]
Elizabeth Hill [mark]
Ioane havericke [mark]
Mary wever
Abraham foxe [mark]
Mary Mayer [mark]
Eliz. Rumney [mark]

[1] The signatures in the original are irregularly arranged in four columns, but are here for convenience placed in two.

# IV

## MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EARLY BARROWISTS

[The names of certain Brownists (Barrowists) taken at a Conventicle in Henry Martin's House, October 8, 1587, and examined in the Episcopal Palace, London, on the same day.][1]

8° die mensis Octobris *1587*.
in palacio ep*iscop*ali London.

Brownest*es*.

1 Crane a m*in*ister mad by 23 Grindall when he was Bushop of London, and before that he was a student in Lawe in the inner Chauncery— } called for beinge at privat conventicles this daye in henry Martins howse in S^t^ Andrewes in the wardropp. /

he saieth that all the booke (meaninge the comon booke, is not gospell)

2 Henry M*ar*tin / of the same secte.

3 George Smells / of the same sect

for beinge at [p]rivat conventles

4 Edward Boyce / of the same sect

5 Anne Iackson / of the same sect

6 George Collier / of the same sect

7 Katherin Owin [Onyon].

8 Rob*er*te Lacy of S^t^ Andrewes in holborne of the same sect / he refuseth to take an othe./

[1] S. P., Dom., Elizabeth, Vol. 204 (10), in the Public Record Office, London.

9 Thomas Freeman of the parishe of S^t^ Botulphe with owt aldersgate of the same sect and a Brownest.

i0 Edithe Burry of Stepney [?] /

ii M^r^ Grenwood preacher depriued of his benefice [?] in norfolke about 2 yeres past takin at the said privat conventicles in martins howse /
he is comitted to the Clincke /

12 Margaret maynerd of Bredstreet she saieth ther is no church in England, she hath not bin at church theis x. yeres. / comitted to Bridwell

13 Alice Roe wydow. of S^t^ Andrewes in the wardrop

14 Agnes Wyman of Stepney.

15 Roberte Griffith of the same sect

16 Iohn Chaundler of Stepney / of the same sect /

17 Edmond Thompson of Stepney / of the same sect

18 Henry Thompson eiusdem praedicte of the same sect

19 Roberte Redborne & } servantes to m^r^ Boyce of the parishe of S^t^ Brigittes

20. Thomas Russell } in flet stret. /

2i Peter Allen servant to m^r^ Allen a salter of the parishe of S^t^ Botulphe nere Billingsegat } of the same sect and at martins howse a foresaid at the conventicle /

vacat ~~Clement Gamble~~ servante ~~to Anne Jackson~~

[Information concerning the Barrowists in 1590.]

A briefe of the positions holden by the nevve sectorie of recusants [i.e., the Barrowists][1].

.....

6. That the Sacraments of Babtisme & the Lords supper, as they are administred now in the Church of England, be not true Sacraments.

[1] "A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVS | Articles gyuen out by the Bisshops | ...", 1590 [p. 7].

7. That infants ought not to be baptised, according to the forme of baptisme ministred now in the Church of England, but are rather to be kept vnbaptised.

[The experiences of the Barrowists at the hands of the Bishops were by no means pleasant.]

Now the course the BBs & their cleargie haue taken, to approoue themselues vnto all men to be no such deceitfull vvorkmen, theire building to be no such vvood, hay, stubble, hath not beene to bring their vvorkes to the light, & to submit yt & themselues, to be measured by the golden reed of Gods word, therby iustifying themselues, conuincing and perswading others: But in stead of this, they first imprison all such as make anie scruple or question of theire doings: yea all such as but speake against them, they shut vp in close pryson, there to continewe vvithout bayle or mainprice, all the daies of theire life, except they submit & recant: Some they cast into most noisome & vile dungeons, without ayre, foode, bedds, or so much as strawe to lye vppon, keeping them from theire vvyues, children, trades labours, to the vtter vndoing & affamishment of them, their wyues, & children; Others they lade, with as manie yrons as they can beare; some others they a while produced to the Sessions, there indicting them as recusants vppon the Statute made for the Papists; publishing them by theire prynt with priuiledg Anabaptists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Sectories, Donatists, Conuenticlers, seditious, turbulent; sparsing abrode through all the land certeine Articles of theire owne deuising against them, to bring them into hatred vvith the vvhole land. vvhervnto also they haue not spared theire toungs, in theire pulpits, where euery one of their priests might forge what opinion he lyst against them, & confute it with the same mouth, in their name: and all this, vvithout once producing them, to anie christian triall vvhere they might haue place giuen them, to defend themselues, & produce theire reasons, or once endeuoring to perswade or confute them by anie one place of scripture;.....[1]

[1] "A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVS | Articles gyuen out by the Bisshops | ...", 1590, sig. $A_{ij}$ recto and verso.

[The names of the persons belonging to the imprisoned "nevve sectorie of recusants" are the following:—][1]

Iames Forester, Iohn Francys } prysoners in newgate

Robert Batkine — — in the Fleete

Thomas Freeman, Thomas Settel, Iohn Debenham } in the gatehowse

George Collier, Iohn Sparowe } in the Clynke

Edmond Nicolson, *Christ*ofer Raper } in the Clynke

*Christ*ofer Browne, Quintan Smyth } in the Clynke

Androwe Smyth, William Blakborowe } in the Clynke

Thomas Lemar, Thomas Michell } in the Clynke

Anthonye Clakston, William Forester } in newgate

William Denford, Roger Waterer } in newgate

Edeth Burrowghe, William Burt } in newgate

George Smels, *Christ*ofer Bowman } in the Counter wood-street

Robert Iackson, Nycolas Lee } in Count: woodstr.

Robert Andrewes, William Hutton } in Count: woodstr.

Iohn Buser[2], Iohn Fissher } in Count: woodstr.

[1] "A COLLECTION OF | CERTAINE SCLAVNDEROVS | Articles gyuen out by the Bisshops | ...", 1590, sigs. $A_{1v}$ verso—B recto.

[2] Could Iohn Buser have been Leonard Busher's father?

William Clarke, Richard maltusse } in Count: vvoodstr.
William Fouller, Richard Skarlet } in Count: woodstr.
Roger Rippine, Iohn Clarke } in Count vvoodstr.
Rowland Skipworth, George Knifton } in the Counter poultrye
Richard Hayward, Iohn Lankaster } in Count: poult.
Thomas Endford } in Count: poult.
Henry Barrowe, Iohn Greenwood } in the Fleete
Daniell Studley, Walter Lane } in the Fleete
Edmond Tomson, Iohn Nicolas } in the gatehouse
William Dodson, Iohn Barrens } in the gatehowse
Iohn Cranford, Richard vvheeler } in the gatehowse
Thomas Canadine—in the gatehowse

[Part of a letter from Iohn Smith to Dr. [John] Reynolds, dated February 20, 1592/3.][1]

This daye it is reported the Baroists shalbe arraigned. yesterday m^r^ smith [*sic*] & I dealt with half a score of them at y^e^ gatehowse concerning our church, & [?] ther errours in refusing to say the L. prayer, & to eate any thing vpon the Sabboth. They denyed both at first, but at length yelded that thei held the former. The men be verye readye to ther poore [?] still, but as impudent, as obstinate, as proud & disdainfull as ever I talked with any; The L. geeve them humble & repentant hartes [?]....

London the 20^th^ of Febr.

[1] Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford. MS. No. 318, present press-mark C. 3. 2 (fol. 143).

[The names of several Barrowists who were willing to conform and were evidently bailed some time after April 5, 1593.][1]

The names of suche Sectaries, as vpon ther Conformitie the Commissioners have bayled.

Iohn Hulkes [or Huckes] of Detford Shipwright. /
William Mason of wappinge Shipwright. /
william Curland of Detford Shipwright.
Edward Gilbert apprentice to Isack Frees Taylor,
of the parishe of S^t^ Gregories neere powles. /
Henry Brodewater of S^t^ Nicholas lane Scrivenor.
Thomas Mihilfield [*sic*] of S^t^ Saviours Ioyner. /
Thomas Farret servant to William Greene of
Aldersgate streete.
Henrye Withers of Detford Strand, Shipwright.

[Part of a Letter of Iohn Chamberlain to Mr Dudley Carleton at "Eaton", dated "From London", the "22^th^ of October 1608".][2]

only there was a nest or assemblie of Brownists [probably Barrowists] discouered on Sonday about Finsburie, wherof Fiue or sixe and thirty were apprehended with theyre preacher one Trundle that vsed to exercise at christs-church.

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 210.

[2] S. P., Dom., James I, Vol. 37 (No. 25), in the Public Record Office, London.

# V

## EARLY MANUSCRIPT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MARPRELATE PRESS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF SOME OF THE EARLY PURITANS

In[1] the yeare 1588 came fourth those hatefull libell*es* of Martin Marreprelate, & much about the same tyme the *Epitome*, the *Demonstracion of discipline*, the *Supplicacion Diotrephes*, the *Mineralles, Have you any worke for a Coop*er, *Martin Iunior*, alias *Theses Martinianæ*, *Martin Senior*, *Moore worke for the Coop*er, all printed with a kinde of wandering presse which was first sett vp at Monsey [Moulsey?] neare Kingston vppon Thames, & from thence conuaied to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, from thence to Norton, from Norton to Couentry, from Couentry to Wollston in Warwickshire, from thence the Setters were sent to an other presse in or neare Manchester where the presse was discouered in printing of More worke for a Coop*er*, which shamelesse libell as like wise all the forenamed were fraught only with odious & scurrulous calumpniacions against the established gouerment & such reuerend Prelat*es* as deserued honour with vprighter iudgem*entes*, some of the Printers whiles they were busied about the last libell, were apprehended, who with the enterteiners & receauers of the presse were proceaded against in the Starre Camber & their censured but vppon their submission, at the Archb*ishops* humble sute were both deliuered out of Prison & eased of their synes. The Authors & publishers, were Iohn Penry and Iohn Vdall with others the cheefe disp*er*sor was Humphrey Newman a Cobler (a fitt brooker for such souterly worke) of which three hereafter we

[1] Cotton MS. Julius F. VI, fol. 76 verso and 77 recto, in the British Museum.

shall speake more in a fitter place The factious Monsters of the pretended discipline hauing with these seditious libelles (as the forerunners & harbengers of their farther designes) made waie in the hartes of the vulgar who euer are apt to entertaine matter of Noueltie especiallie if it haue a shew of restraining the authoritie of their Superiours, they thought it the fittest time to prosecute their proiectes & while the one sorte of them, were maliciouslie busie in slaundering the state of the Church alredy setled, the other sor[t]e were as factiouslie eager in planting the discipline which they had newlie plotted Where vppon shortlie after Thomas Cartwright Edmond Snape, Andrew Kinge, Wilton Proudloue, Iohn Graine, Melanchton Iewell, Lord, Fennye, and Wright were called in question & proceeded withall in Starre chamber, for setting forth and putting in practise without warrant or authoritie a new forme of Comm̃on Praier & administracion of the sacramentes & presbiteriall discipline comprised in two bookes Intituled Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Dei verbo descripta and Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum vsu with other bookes and Pamphlettes of like nature, And so putt their reformacion & Hierarchie in practise they held their assemblyes & Classis in sundrie places of this Realme viz: at London, Oxford, & Cambridge, Warwicke, Northampton, Ketteringe, Daintry where they corrected & altered diuerse imperfections conteyned in the said booke, treating allsoe & concluding of sundry Articles & decrees in allowance of the bookes & of the Matters therin viz:

That the Queenes authoritie ought to be restrained in causes ecclesiasticall. /

# VI

## SOME OF THE EARLY BARROWIST DEPOSITIONS

["Certen wicked sectes
& opinions. marche
1588 & 89 No 3i. Eliz."][1]

The Manner of thassemblie of the secret Conventicklers togethe[r] with some Collections of there opynions /

Confessed by clement Gambell.

In the somer tyme they mett togethe[r] in the feilds a mile or more about london. there they sitt downe vppon A Banke & diuers of them expound out of the bible so long as they are there assembled

Confessed by Clemente Cambell

In y[e] wynte[r] tyme they assemble themselves by 5. of the clocke in y[e] morning to that howse where they make there Conventicle, for y[t] [?] Saboth daie men & woemen togethe[r] there they Contynewe in there kinde of praier & exposicion of Scriptures all that daie They dyne togethe[r], After dinner make collection to paie for there diet [?] & what mony is left somme [?] one of them carrieth it to the prisons where any of there sect be committed.

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 83 recto—84 recto, in the British Museum.

Confessed by Iohn Dove[1]

In there praier one speketh and the rest doe grone, or sob. or sigh, as if they wold wringe out teares, but...not after...that praieth, there praier is extemporall

Confessed by Clemente Gamble /

In there conventicles they vse not the lordes praier, nor of any forme of sett praier, for the lordes praier, one, who hath ben A dalie resorter [to?] there conventiclers [conventicles?], hath [*sic*] this yeare & a half on the Saboth daies, confesseth yt he neuer hard it said emongest them, And this is the doctryne of the vse of it in there pamphlettes, To that which is alledged, that we ought to saie the lordes praier, Bycause our saviour Christ saieth when you praie doe yor praie thus &c[?],...

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

. . . .
. . . .

for thuse of set or stynted praier (as they terme it,) this they teach that all stynted praiers & redd service is but Babling in ye lordes sight,...

Confessed by Clement Gambell

In all there metinges they teach that there is noe heade or supreme gove[r?]ment of the Church of god, but Christe, That the Queene hath no auctoritie to appoyn[t] mynisters in the Church nor to set downe any governemente for ye Church which is not directlie commanded in godes worde /

Taught in another of there wryting[es] taken from

To confirme there privat conventicles and expounding there

[1] John Dove, M.A., who published at least half a dozen books.

| | |
|---|---|
| the for[e]said Smyth, Confessed by Iohn dove / | they teach that A pryvatt man being A Brother may preach to begett faieth and nowe that thoffice of thappostles is ceaseth [*sic*] there nedeth not, publiq*ue* mynistres but eu*e*ry man in his owne calling was to preache the gospell. |
| co*n*fessed by Clem*e*nt Gambell, | They condempn*e* [?] it as vtterlie vnlawfull to co*mm*e to o*ur* Churches in england to any publicque praier or preching of whome soeu*er*, for y$^{t}$ they saie as the Chirch [?] of england standeth they be all fals teachers |
| . . . . | & falce pr*o*phett*es* [?] that be in |
| . . . . | it, there reason is for that o*ur* preachers (as they saie) doe teach vs that the state of the realme of England is the true Church (w*hi*ch they denye) and therfore they saie that all pr*ea*chers of england be fals |
| . . . . | preachers sent in the lord*es* anger |
| . . . . | to deceyve his people w*i*th lyes, and not true preachers to bring the glad tydingg*es* of the gospell, |
| co*n*fessed by Io*hn* dove | and all that come to o*ur* Churches to publicque praier or sermons they accompt damnable soules |
| . . . . | . . . . |
| . . . . | . . . . |
| Taught in the same pamphlet taken from Rog*er* Iackson | . . . . |
| | . . . . |
| Confessed in m$^{r}$ Iohn Doves examinac*i*on A m$^{r}$ of Arte who | Those who haue ben of there secret Brotherhood and seing there erro*ur*s do fall from them |

was at one of the Conventyckles

and Submytt them selves to be partakers of publique praiers and hering of godes worde with vs they condempne [?] as appostates [?] and they saie it is A greater synne to goe to our Churches to publique praier then for A man to lye with his fathers wief /

Confessed by love who is the partie who[m] they so vsed & by m^r^ dove who was present at this Accion and was the first man who reveled this /

And when as one of late forsoke there Conventickles they sent for him, and when he gave them many reasons whie he cold not hold there opynions for good as namelie that they reiected the lordes praier, That they were dissemblers in that two of them had made A deede of gyfte of all there landes to deceyve the Queene and A nombre of other reasons which he alledged to them when they sawe they cold not wynne hime they gaue hime ouer to thandes of Satan till he wold Submitt hime self to the Church agayne and they all kneling he that gave that sentence made A praier to desyre god to ratiffie that censure against hime

Wydowe Vnyon one of there Chief Conventickler[s] her Child was Babtised in S^t^ Andrewes in the wardrope

They held it vnlawfull to baptise Children emongest vs but rather Chewse to let them goe vnbaptized as in Somer 1588 A Childe of one of theres [?] beinge xij yeres of Age was knowne [?] not to haue ben baptized And when the pore infant desyred the

mother often that it might be baptized she and it was [*sic*] borne of faiethfull parentes which was enough for it which Child was by the Chauncelor of london caused to be publiquely Baptised, at a sermon made for that purpose the last sommer [?] and the mother ranne awaie for feare of puishmente

Confessed by Clement Gamble

It cannot be learned where they receyved the Sacramentes of the lordes Supper and one who neuer missed there metinges [?] of A yere & A half confesseth that he neuer sawe any min[i]stracion of the sacrement nor knoweth where it is donne

Confessed by Clement Gamble [?]

for marradges if any of there Chirch Marry together some of there owne Brotherhood must marry them as of late A Cople were married in the fleet

Thexaminacion of Abraham Pulbery of London free of the Cowpers of thage of xxv or thereaboutes. taken vij° die martij 1592 as foloweth[1].

Item hee saieth that hee was in Cheapeside when the dead Corps of Roger Rippon was caried thorowe the same, and saieth further that hee heard there publikely redde the paper which was sett vpon the Coffine but hee would not call the same a libell, And the same libell being shewed vnto him hee thinketh that it was in effecte the same hee heard redde in Chepeside /

And beinge examined of what opynion hee was touchinge the same libell he saieth that the mainteyninge of the Bishops of Englande as namely the ArchBishop of Canterbury & the

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 43 recto, in the British Museum.

rest of the Bishops. whom hee termeth to bee Antichristian Bishops as they are, that they are the mainteyners of Antichristian Authoritie sayeng further that the said Bishops haue their authorities as they are Bishoppes from Antichriste & not from her ma*iest*ie because there is noe suche authoritie in the word of god for any Princes to make such Bishoppes to overrule the Churches of god

And saieth further that when hee heard that paper redde in Chepeside hee heard allso then reported that they mente to carry the said Coffine to m^r^ Iustice young*es* house

And hee saieth further that hee was vpon Sonday laste in the morninge at a wood neere yslington with others that were there the nomber hee knoweth not and then & there had a sworde aboute himselfe, and denieth to aunswere how often hee had bene there before / and saieth allso that m^r^ Iohnson was their expounder that daye. /

Item hee saieth that hee hath made a promise to the Lord in the presence of his Congregacion when hee entred therevnto that hee would walke with them as they would walke with the Lorde /

Rych*ard* young
Iohn Ellis

Thexaminacion of Iohn Nicholas of
Smithfeild Glover taken before vs
Henry Tounsend, Rich*ard* yonge and Iohn Ellis
Esquiers the viij^th^ of Marche 1592[1]

Item beinge tendred his oath to aunswhere truly to such matters as should be demaunded of him conc*er*ninge the Quenes ma*iest*ie refuseth to take any oathe

Item beinge demaunded whether he were at newgate or in Cheepesid when the Coffin was carried to M^r^ Yongs saith he was not, nor was prevye of the makinge of the said Coffin onely Rippons wyfe did tell him on Frydaye night (as he thinks that hir husband was deade

Item he saith he did not knowe of the makinge of the Lybells that were fixed on the Coffin nor did knowe whoe they were

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 61 recto, in the British Museum.

that made them beinge demaunded whether he knowes Pendred [Penry] or not saith he hath heard of him but knowes him not

Item he saith he knowes Abraham Pulbery /

Item he saith he knowes one Iones but hath not bene longe acquainted with him nor doeth he knowe where he dwells

Item this Examinate saith that he with his company were at the wood where they were nowe taken on sonday was a fortnight

Item he saith that the Lords prayer is noe praier for that (as he saith) Christ did not saie it as a praier

Thexaminacion of William Clerke, a worker of Capps, of the parishe of St Buttolphes, taken before vs Henry Townsend Richard yonge and Iohn Ellis esquiers the viij$^{th}$ of marche 1592[1]

Item he beinge tendred his oath to aunswhere truly to such questions as should be demaunded of him on the behalfe of the Quenes maiestie refuseth to take any oath:

Item he saith he did knowe Roger Ryppon but was not with him duringe his imprisonment nor was at Newgate when the Coffyn was carried from thens, nor was previe of yt nor of the lybell fixed theron nor who wrote it /

Item he saith he *hath bene of the foresaid congregacion these Fower or Fyve yeres*, and made *promise to stand with the said Congregacion* soe longe as they did stand for the truthe and glory of god, beinge then of that Congregacion at that tyme present aboute twentie or there aboutes

Item beinge demaunded when he did see Pendred [Penry] denies to aunswhere that Question /

And beinge demaunded whether he wold geve his consent to repaier to his parishe Churche (as he is bound by the lawes of the Land) saith he maye not soe suddenly yeld there vnto but (soe that he maye be at libertye) he saith he will put in good securytie to be of good behauioure towards the Quenes maiestie and the state /

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 62 recto.

Thexamination of Richard Hawton shoomaker
taken before vs Henry Townsend Richard
yonge and Iohn Ellis esquiers the viij[th]
of marche 1592[1]

Item he denyes to take any oath to aunswhere to any question but will aunswher truly soe nere as he can
Item he saith he hath bene of the foresaid congregacion a fortenight or three weeks
Item he saith he hard noe notice of their meetinge at the wood but meetinge with a shoomaker whome he knowes not went with them /
Item he saith he knowes not Roger Rippon nor was at newgate nor in Cheepesid when the Coffin was carried from newgate, but he heard that a Coffin was carried throughe the streetes and that Libells were fixed on yt but was not previe of them nor knowes whoe wrote them
Item he saith he is nowe contented to repaier to his parishe Churche as he ought and will hereafter refraine the Company of that congregacion and will observe the Quenes maiesties [?] lawes

Thexaminacion of Iohn Barns tayler
taken...the vij[th] of Marche i592[2]

.....
Item he saith he did knowe Roger Ryppon and was at newgate in the morninge before he was carried thens but was not prevye of the carriynge[?] of the Coffyn to m[r] yongs, nor of the Lybells fixed theron nor whoe wrote them
.....
Item he saith that at his first entringe into that societie he *made noe other vowe, but that he wold followe them soe farr forth as the word of god did warraunt him*.....

Thexaminacion of Daniell Bucke scrivoner of the Burughe
of Southwarke taken the nyneth daye of marche [1592/3]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 61 verso.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 67 recto. This MS. is an original.

before Henry Townsend Richard yonge and
Iohn Ellys Esquiers And beinge required to
be deposed vppon a booke refuseth to
take any other oath then to protest before god
that all his sayings were true[1]

Beinge examined whether he was with the Coffyn at newgate, denyes that he was there and that he did not see the lybell fixed on the said Coffin, but saith y^t^ afterwards a straunger shewed vnto him the Coppie of the same at his owne shopp in Southwarke and denyes that he knewe the name of the straunger nor any thinge els of him, but that he was a Wiltsheere man and came to see how he did/

And saith further that he was vppon sondaye last in thafternoone in the Cunstable his house in Islington where he did see emongst others of their fraternitie Penrhyn [John Penry]/

And saith further that George Iohnson was Reader there in the Cunstables house as aforesaid And saith alsoe that there were there aboue fortye of them together and diuers others that were not of their societie

And saith further that he was not in his parishe Churche thes xij monethes, bycause it is against his conscience vnlesse there were reformacion in the Churche accordinge as they be warraunted by the word of god

And as concerninge the Bushopps he thinkes that they haue noe spirituall aucthoritie over the rest of the Clergie

Beinge asked what vowe or promise he had made when he came first to their socyetye he aunswhereth and saith that he made this protestacion, That he wold walke with the rest of that congregacion soe longe as they did walke in the waye of the lord and as ffarr as might be warraunted by the word of god

Beinge demaunded whether there shold be any motion made by some of their fraternitie that they should goe some where in to the Cuntrye wherby they might be in more saftie denyes that he herd any such matters/but saith that he herd that one Myllers a preacher at St Andreas vnderashafte sayd that if

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 216 recto—217 recto, in the British Museum.

they did maynteyne the truth they should not keepe them selves in Corners but should shewe them selves forth publiquely to defend the same, and he thought that vnfitt lest it should be a meane to stirr a Rebellion

And further beinge demaunded whoe was their pastor and by whome he was Created saith that m^r^ Fraunc*is* Iohnson was chosen Pastor, and m^r^ Grenewood docto^r^, and Bowman and Lee deacons, and Studley and George Knifton potticary were chosen elders, in the house of one Fox in St Nicholas Lane, London / about halfe a yere sithence all in one day by their congregac*i*on, or at m^r^ Bylsons house in Crechurche he re-me*m*breth not whether / and that the Sacrame*n*t of Baptisme was (as he called it) deliue*r*ed there to the nu*m*ber of vij p*er*sons by Iohnson, but they had neither god fathers nor godmothers, and he tooke water and washed the faces of them that were baptised: the Children that were there baptised were the Children of m^r^ Studley m^r^ Lee with others beinge of seue*r*all yeres of age, sayinge onely in thadministrac*i*on of this sacrame*n*t I doe Baptise thee in the name of the father of the sonne and of the holy gost w*i*thoute vsinge any other cerimony therin as is now vsually obse*r*ved accordinge to the booke of Com*m*on praier B[e]inge then there p*r*esente the said Daniel Studley: will*i*am Sheppard, will*i*am marshall, Iohn Beche, Robe*r*te Bray Thoma[s] Lee. Arthur Byllet Edmund Thompson Robe*r*te Iackson will*i*am Mason, George marten, Thomas michell, Robe*r*t Abraham, henry wythers, Thomas digson[?], peter farland; will*i*am weber, dauy Bristoe, Iohn Nicholas, Iohn Barnes. George Smell[?], *Christ*ofer Raper, *Christ*ofer Sympkins, *Christ*ofer diggins Roger Rippo*n* *Christ*ofer Boman, Thomas Settell Iohn Grenewood, aforesaid Edward Graue, will*i*am Collins, Abraham pulbery, Nicholas leye aforesaid George manne*r*s George Knyfton, aforesaid m^rs^ Settell, katherine Onnyon[?], m^rs^, Boyes, margery daubin[?] Ellyn Rowe, Avis Allen, An homes, Ione pulbery, nich*o*las lee his wyfe, frauncis Iohnes, An Bodkyn, Elizabeth moore, Barbera Sampford, and others whose names he doeth not reme*m*ber.

Beinge further demaunded the manner of the lordes supper administred emongst them, he saith that fyve whight loves or more were sett vppon the table and that the Pastor did breake the bread and then deliuered yt vnto some of them, and the deacons deliuered to the rest some of the said congregacion sittinge and some standinge aboute the table and that the Pastor deliuered the Cupp vnto one and he to an other, and soe from one to an other till they had all dronken vsinge the words at the deliuerye therof accordinge as it is sett downe in the eleventh of the Corinthes the xxiiij$^{th}$ verse

Beinge demaunded whether they vse to make any Collection or gatheringe amongst them said that there is a gatheringe of mony emongst them the which mony is deliuered to the deacons to be distributed accordinge to their discretion to the vse of the poore

And he herd saie that they did vse to marry in theire congregacion

And further refuseth to comm to the Churche and obeye the forme of service which is vsed in the booke [?] of Common prayer sett oute by the Quenes maiesties [?] Iniunctions, bycause there is not a reformacion accordinge to the word of god

Rychard Young

Thexaminacion of Iohn Penryn [Penry] taken xxvj° martij 1593[1]

hee requireth that hee may haue a publike conference to bee allowed or appointed by her maiestie & the Lordes of the Counsell, if it so please their honours; or otherwise hee will not confere for this present hee saith that there was a peticion deliuered & allso there is a booke to bee deliuered into the Parliament, conteyninge his Faithe and opinions & hee expecteth to knowe their Censure thereof & allowance or disallowance of the same /

.....

Thexaminacion of sondry persons abidinge in the prisons in & aboute London taken before

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 204. This is apparently the original MS. of this deposition, signed by "Rychard young".

Doctor Goodman deane of westm*inster* & others iij°, iiij°, v^to^, et vj^to^ April 1593[1]

Clinke Henry Broadwater scrive*ner* in S^t^ Nicholas Lane aged xxix yeares was co*m*mitted to prison by the Bishop of London & others aboute vj weekes paste

.....

Newgate. Edward Grave Fishmonger of the p*ar*ishe of S^t^ Butulph in Thames streete aged xxv yeares was co*m*mitted to prison a weeke paste /

Item hee saieth that hee hath bene of this opinion of the Sectaries this halfe yeare & was p*er*suaded by the Sermons of m^r^ Gardener and m^r^ Phillips; who preached that men were bounde to heare & to bee ruled by their pastor Elders & deacons Hee... confesseth that hee had one of Barrowes his bookes of conference w*hi*ch hee lent to Pedar the shoemaker,...

Christofer diggins weuer aged xxiiij yeares is serv*a*unte [?] to Nicholas haveren*n*[2] of the p*ar*ishe of S^t^ Olaves in Southwarke & was one of them that carried the Coffine to m^r^ younges dore /

.....

Hee saieth that hee was in the Assemblies eu*er*y Lordes day by the space of two yeares now laste paste

Item hee saieth that hee hath seene one of Barowes his bookes in the handes of one Iohn wilkenson,

.....

Iohn Clerke husbandman of the p*ar*ishe of wallsoken in the Countye of Norffolke was co*m*mitted three yeares paste by the Sheriff*es* of London beinge taken in an assembly w*i*th Barrowes.....Hee saieth that hee will not goe to any churche nor to any Sermons /

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 32 recto—fol. 36 recto.

[2] This is apparently the name here written, but in these hastily penned depositions mistakes were likely to be made.

yt was thoughte good by the Commissioners that hee should bee sente to Bridewell. to grinde in the mill

Roger waterer haberdasher servaunte [?] to Robert Pavye [?] of the parishe of S^t^. Martens at Ludgate was committed to Newgate...three yeares and a quarter paste / & was neuer examined / The cause of his imprisonment (as hee saith) was for that hee wente not to his parishe churche in three weekes & was fetched out of his masters house /

hee saieth hee was once at an assembly in a gardeyne house neere Bedlem where Iames Forester did expounde the Scriptures.

.....

William Marshall Shipwrighte dwellinge at wappinge aged xxxij yeares was taken in the wood... hee saieth he hath bene of these assemblies halfe a yeare & was with them three tymes in the woodes. & yet was at churche vj weekes paste /

.....

Thomas hewett borne in Swanton in the County of Leicester pursemaker of the age of xxx yeares & doth dwell at S^t^ Martens le Graunde with Iohn Sutton & is his servaunte & was taken with the Reste in the wood

.....

George Knifton Apothecarye dwellinge in Newgate markett of the age of yeares [*sic*] saieth that hee hath mett at the assemblies at Barnes his house at Billsons house & at Lees house & at the woodes & at Rippons house & at deptford wood, & hee is an Elder

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to Churche, hee aunswereth that hee wilbee content to haue conference & before that hee will not goe to the churche, & refuseth to take an othe

hee is to bee sent to the deane of westminster to conferre

william Mason shipwrighte of thage of xxj yeares was taken in the wood Hee saieth that hee hath bene of these assemblies since a little before Christmas laste & was persuaded by Roger Rippon & Edward Chaundler, & hath bene at there assemblies xij tymes viz in Nicholas Lane, at Daniell Buckes neere Allgate & at Nicholas Lee his house, & hee gaue vj$^{d}$ a weeke which the deacons receyued & hee saieth that Chaundler had Barrowes bookes & did reade them

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to the Churche, hee saieth he will & is bounde with his brother Richard Mason & Iames Tailor & so discharged /

Henry withers shipwrighte dwellinge at deptford Strande of the age of xxvij yeares was committed a moneth paste beinge taken at the assembly in the woodes /

hee saieth hee hath bene of the said assemblies this halfe yeare by meanes & persuasion of the Shipwrightes & they did assemble themselues euery Sabboth daye at dyvers houses

.....

Beinge demaunded whether hee will goe to Churche, hee aunswereth that hee is willinge to goe to Churche after that hee hath had conference /

Christofer Bowman goldsmithe of thage of xxxij yeares & doeth dwell in weste Smithfield & was Committed by [i.e., for] the Coffine & libells /

Hee saieth hee is one of the Confused [?][1] Churche & is a deacon amongest them beinge chosen in September laste

hee saieth hee was imprisoned v yeares paste for puttinge vp a petition to the Queenes maiestie & continued in prison iij yeares for the same /

[1] The writing of "Confused" is plain, but some other word was evidently intended.

hee saieth that the Forward preachers caused him to fall into these assemblies & that m^r^ Chattertons printed Sermon was the cause that made him enter into this Action

.....

Hee [Christofer Bowman] saieth that hee hath beene at their assemblies as often as hee could have time & liberty viz at m^r^ Billsons house, at Penryns, Lees; Rippons and Barnes there houses & in S^t^ Nicholas Lane & in the woodes

.....

Beinge demaunded where hee was maried, hee saieth at Penryns house, and Settle did pray & Grenewood was p*re*sente, & hee denieth to sweare or subscribe

Thomas Micklefield Ioyn*er* of thage of xxxiij yeares. dwellinge in S^t^ Mary Overies p*ar*ishe was taken in the assembly in the woodes.....

hee confesseth that hee hath bene of the Company of these Sectaries this quarter of a yeare & was p*er*suaded thereto by m^r^ Phillips preachinge /

.....

Dauid Bristowe tailor of thage of xxx yeares dwellinge in S^t^ Martens le Graunde was taken in the woodes.....

.....

hee hath bene in their company this halfe yeare & saieth hee cannot goe to any Churche but to that wherevnto hee hath Ioyned himselfe

*Christ*ofer Simkyn Copp*er*smith dwellinge in aldersgatestreete of thage of xxij yeares was taken in the woodes...

hee...saieth that hee hath not bene at his p*ar*ishe churche these xviij moneths beinge thereto p*er*suaded by hearinge m^r^ Sparkes m^r^ Cowp*er* & others their Sermons,

.....

Will*iam* Smithe of Bradford in the Com*itatus* [i.e.,

County] of willshire mynister of thage of xxx yeares was made mynister by the Bishop of Couentrye & Litchfield
hee saieth hee was imprisoned vuj weekes since... for the Carriage of the Coffine.....

.....

Arthur Billett borne in Flanteclex[1] in the Com*itatus* [i.e., County] of Cornewall aged xxv yeares saieth that hee hath bene a Scholler & a Souldiour & was taken with Penryn and others at Ratcliffe aboute a fortnighte paste /
hee saieth that hee hath bene in[?] drawen into this Society these two yeares & hath bene three or foure tymes at the woodes & in dyvers houses. and receyued the Co*m*munion at Barnes house
hee was the man that putt Barrowes & Grenewood their bookes to the printe at dorte & hee sawe one of the bookes in a Countrey mans handes.

.....

Iohn Parkes Clothworker of thage of L yeares was taken in the woodes & co*m*mitted...aboute a moneth paste.
hee saieth hee serueth m^r^ Livesey his sonne & hath meate & drinke of him & noe wages & hath no habitac*i*on
hee hath bene of this Secte a quarter of a yeare & hath bene at these assemblies vj tymes in sondry places,

.....

Iohn Penryn mynister of the age of xxx yeares or thereabout*es*

.....

The cause of his departure out of the Lande of Scotlande was for that hee putt vp a petition to the parliament & could not bee heard / & therefore hee departed /

[1] "Flanteclex" is quite plainly written.

Leonard Pidder shoemaker of thage of xxx yeares dwellinge at blacke Friers was taken in the woodes.....

.....

Will*ia*m Curland Shipwrighte of thage of [1] yeares was taken in the woodes neere yslington

.....

Will*ia*m Giles Taylor aged xxıj yeares ser*va*unte to m[r] Cheryatt of walbroke was taken as hee was goinge to the assembly in the woodes

.....

Thomas Emery is his felowe ser*va*unte

Edward Gilbarte of thage of xxj yeares ser*va*unte to Isaac Frize tronkemaker was taken in the woodes/

.....

Frauncis Iohnson mynister was so made by the Sectaries & chosen their pastor is of thage of xxxj yeares & is of noe certeine abode

.....

hee saieth that it is the power of their Churche that they may exco*m*mun[i]cate the Queene vntill shee acknowledge & confesse her selfe, and this is done to save her soule/

Hee [Francis Johnson] saieth that hee was co*m*mitted the v[th] day of december 1592 by the Lord of Caunterbury & others, & hee hath bene examined two seuerall tymes by the Lord Chiefe Iustice at Sergeant*es* Inne

Ite*m* hee saieth that the Lordes prayer is a forme of prayer but not to bee vsed for the Apostles did not vse to saye it

Ite*m* hee saieth that hee was prisoner in Cambridge for a Sermon that hee made to this purpose for that hee would not take an othe foure yeares paste

Beinge demaunded by whom hee was p*er*suaded to these assemblies hee saieth by the Scriptures & worde of god/.....

.....

Edward Boys haberdashed [haberdasher] aged xxxıj yeares dwellinge in Fleetestreete was co*m*mitted xvj weekes paste by the Bishop of Caunterbury.....

[1] There is a blank space at this point in the manuscript.

Beinge asked how longe hee hath bene drawen from his parish Churche, hee saieth that hee hath bene of this Societie these three yeares. & was moued thereto by m^r^ Egerton m^r^ Cowp*er* & M^r^ wigginton their Sermons.....

.....

George Collier hab*er*dashed [hab*er*dasher] aged xxxvij yeares of the p*ar*ishe of S^t^ Martens at Ludgate was co*m*mitted by the Bishop of London & others v yeares paste

.....

hee saieth that hee was taken w*i*th Grenewood & Crane & others & was neu*er* examined in all this time

Beinge required to goe to his parishe church & haue his liberty hee saieth hee will not /

William denford Scholem*aster* of the age of L yeares lodged at mayres house in Fosterlane & was taken in the wood & co*m*mitted...aboute a moneth paste.

hee saieth that hee hath bene twise at the Assemblies in the wood & doeth vse to saye the Lordes prayer, but hee will not goe to Churche vntill the p*ar*ishes bee reformed / hee saieth that the ministery is not duely called

.....

Thomas Settell mynister of the age of xxxvij yeares hath bene in prison these xv weekes beinge co*m*mitted by Sir Owen Hopton & doeth renounce his mynisterye / & was not examined since his co*m*mittinge.

hee was taken in an Assembly at a Schoolehouse in S^t^ Nicholas Lane.

Beinge demaunded how longe hee hath absented himselfe from the church of England hee aunswereth, about a yeare paste & hath not receyued the Co*m*munion these three yeares & hath bene againste the discipline of the Churche of England these vij yeares; & refuseth to take an othe /

.....

hee allso saieth that hee was at the excom*m*unicac*i*on of Rob*er*t Stokes & the wordes were p*r*onounced by Frauncis Iohnson their pastor & confesseth that hee hath prophesied in their assemblies

hee saieth that hee did receyue the Co*m*munion in Barnes his

house in Smithfield in the Aforenoone, & hath persuaded the people to their assemblies /

.....

william wevar shoemaker of Grayes Inne Lane of thage of XL yeares servaunt to George Smith...was taken in the woodes...

Item hee saieth that hee hath frequented these assemblies these xvnj monethes...

.....

hee saieth that hee hath made a Couenaunte to the Congregacion to bee of their Societie & refuseth to goe to the churche /

Quintine Smith Feltmaker servaunte to his brother in Southwarke aged xxx yeares. was taken in the woodes...

hee saieth hee hath bene of these assemblies these two yeares

...

hee saieth that hee made a Couenaunte with the Assembly that as longe as they did walke in the lawes of god hee would forsake all other assemblies and onely folowe them /

.....

Katherine Onyon spinster dwellinge at Allgate, is willinge to goe to Churche, but shee is not able to putt in Suerties /

2. Aprilis. *1593.* Thexaminacion of William Clerke of S[t] Buttolphes without Bushopps gate. aged xl. yeres, or ther abouts,...[1]

First that he hath bene in prison in the Fleete this moneth. /

Item, that he was committed by the Bushopp of London, and othe[rs] highe commissioners beinge taken in the woode, beyonde Islington, wher he saieth they praied and exercised the word of god, and ther George Iohnson vsed the exhortacion and praier. /

...

Item, he saieth he hath refrained to come to churche but halfe a yere, but hath held his opinions these fyve yeres, beinge

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 55 recto.

drawen therto first by Greenewood, then in prison, and since by one Crane who died in Newgate, /

...

Concordat cum Original

...

[April 2, 1593.]

Thexaminacion of Iohn Nicholas of the parishe of St Pulchres London Glover aged xxxvj yeres or theraboutes...[1]

...

First that he hath bene in Prison a monthe.

Item that he was comitted...beinge taken in the wood beyond Islington amonge diuerse others ther assembled /

.....

Item that he hath refrained from parishe churche assemblies thes fowre yeres, wherof he hath bene thre yeres and more in prison in the gate howse at westminster,...

Item beinge asked by whome he was drawen into his oppinions and when, sayeth by the word of god, and that he hath heard George Iohnson preache once or twice wherof once was in the wood, and hath heard Francis Iohnson preache once in S^t^ Nicholas Lane /

Item he sayeth that they vsed to meete in ther assemblyes in S^t^ Nicholas lane and in the woods beyond Islington wher he was taken /

.....

Item he sayeth that one of his sonnes named nathaniell [?] beinge five yeres of age was baptized by Francis Iohnson in S^t^ Nicholas lane in the Scolehowse ther about Christmas last, and that he was never baptized before that tyme. /

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

2. Aprilis 1593. Thexaminacion of George Iohnson late Scholemaster in S^t^ Nicholas Lane. London

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 63 verso.

borne in Richmonshire in the Countie of yorke. of the age of xxix. yeres,...[1]

First that he hath bene prisoner in the Fleete a monthe, comitted...for beinge taken in an assemblye of people in a wood beyond Islington /

...

Item beinge demaunded by whome he was drawen into his oppinions, saieth he was drawne therto, by the worde of god, and by hearinge of m^r^ Egerton preacher, at his Sermons /

...

.1.

3. Aprilis. i593. Thexaminacion of Iohn Dalamore of the Cittye of Bathe brodeweaver of the age of xxv yeres...[2]

First that he hath bene in prison in Newgate this monethe being taken in the wood beyond Islington in thassembly ther...

.....

Item being asked by whome he was drawen in to his opinions sayeth by the word of god and that he hath hard one Smythe & others preache at Kensham [Keynsham] and other places in Sommersetshire. /

...

Concordat Cum Orignall [?]

...

.2.

3. Aprilis i593. Thexaminacion of Robert Abraham servaunt to Thomas Rookes dwelling in S^t^ Olives in Sowthewarke letherdresser of thage of the [*sic*] xxvj yeres...[3]

First that he hath bene in prison in Newgate this monethe being taken in the wood in the assembly...

.....

Item he sayth he hath not bene at any Churche this twelve monethes and hath bene of his opinions a yere & halfe

.....

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 63 recto. [2] *Ibid.*, fol. 58 recto.
[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 57 verso.

Item being asked how often they haue vsed to meete in their assemblies saythe twyce a weeke commonly except they were otherwise occupyed and saythe they mett somtymes at Smythfielde in an house by the hospitall allwayes earlye in the morninge And in the wynter about iiij$^{or}$ or v a clocke in the morninge and somtyme by Algate besydes Christchurche and they met by such direccion as they tooke alwayes at ther last meetinges and somtymes about moregate [?]. they tooke their direccion for meeting as they met ther And sayth they received the Communyon [?] but once which was in a house about Smythfyeld but he remembreth not the house and yt was at the handes of Francis Iohnson ther pastor. /

Item he confesseth that they met thre or fowre tymes at S$^{t}$ Nicholas Lane and once at Rippons [?] house in Southworke and in the field by Detforde somtymes and oftentymes in the feilds & woods by Islington. /

.....

Item he sayth they vsed to geve ther pastor every man accordinge to his abylitye. /

Concordat cum original

.....

3. Aprill. *1593*. .Thexaminacion of Abraham Pulburye of the parishe of Crichurche pursmaker by trade, but free of the Coupers, of the age of xxiij$^{or}$. yeares. / or their aboutes,.....[1]

First, that he hath bin in prison this moneth...taken in the Wood beyond Islington,...and saieth he had with him a Sworde at the wood. /

.....

Item, he saieth he hathe byn at some of their assemblies at diuerse places, viz. by Smythfeild, earlye in the mornynge, wher they continewed most parte of the daye, and sometymes by Crichurche, sometymes by Detford. /

Item, he saieth that Francis Iohnson, was their Pastor, Greenewood their Doctor, Studley and knyveton their elders, Nicholas Lee and Iohn [i.e., Christopher] Boweman their deacons. /

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 47 verso and 48 recto.

Item, he saieth their hathe bene baptised in their assemblies in Nicholas Lane, at one tyme, iiij$^{or}$. or fyve children, wherof some wear of fyve yeres ould, some of sixe yeares, and some of vij. yeres ould. /

.....

Item, he saieth he was about a twelmonth since, Commytted to prison in Sussex together with one william Collin, by the Bushopp of Chichester, and from him sent to Sir Henrye Goringe, and by him send [*sic*] to Arrundell, their to be kept, vntill the quarter Sessions /, beinge taken in Arrundell as suspected to be a Brownist, and then Continewed in prison vntill Thassises, whear he was Indicted, and Burned in the eare, for a vagabounde, and then prest for a souldier, which he saieth was done agaynst, all Lawe and Iustice. /

Concordat cum Original

...

3. Aprilis. *1593.* The examinacion of Roger Waterer late Servant to Robert Pavye of S$^{t}$ martyns Ludgate, haberdasher, aged xxij. yeres...[1]

First, that he hath bin in prison in Newgate, these three yeres, and a quarter,...and the cause of his commitment, was (as he saieth) for not Comminge to Churche. /

.....

Item, he Confesseth that before he was Committed to prison, he was in an assemblie in a garden howse by Bedlein, wher Iames Forrester expounded, before ther Churche was setled, and was perswaded to his opinions by one Coppye. /

.....

.....

The Reexamination of Robert Aburne [Abraham]; taken the thirde day of Aprell. 1593. before Doctor Goodman Deane of Westminster m$^{r}$ Townshend m$^{r}$ Dale, m$^{r}$ Barne, and m$^{r}$ yonge. /[2]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 51 recto.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 41 recto and verso.

He saieth he is by trade a lether dresser and *servaunt* to one m^r^ Rooks of Southwarke, he saieth he hath not bene at his *parishe* Churche this yere and a halfe,
he saieth the first that eu*er* brought him into this Congregac*ion* was one Will*iam* Howton deceased, whoe p*er*swaded him to refraine his [*sic*] p*ar*ishe Churche, and brought him acqu*ainted* [?] w*ith* the rest of the bretheren of that Congregac*ion*, beynge at bridewell, and thether he went to see ther orders, beynge ther at at [*sic*] that tyme Studley, w*ith* others [*sic*] prison*ers* ther, wher he harde at that tyme, one Stanhopp preache, amongest them in the prison openlye, and then he this exa*m*inant, beynge amongest them, was receaved and admytted into ther societie and congregac*ion*, w*ithout* eyther exa*minacion*, or further enquirie of his conversation. /
he saieth that sithens he hath met w*ith* the said Congregac*ion* diu*ers* tymes, as well privately in howses, as openlye in feilds and woods, some tymes to the number of a hundreth, sometymes lx. [60] at the least, once they mett about halfe a yeare sithence at Roger Rippons in Southwarke, two other tymes at Algate one [i.e., on] the left hand he knoweth not at whose howse, and that m^r^ Iohnson was ther pastor when they wear in Southwarke, and after at an other howse at Smythfeild almost halfe a yere sithens but knowes not whose howse it was, and ther they Receaved the Com*m*union, Iohnson ministringe vnto them, and mett once in S^t^ Nicholas Lane, the said Iohnson beinge Pastor, & Greenewood ther teacher. /
They mett diu*ers* tymes in the feild neere Detford, And about the woodsides neere Islington, and ther have hard yonge [George] Iohnson preache, sithence his brother the elder Iohnson, was in troble. /
He saieth that at ther meetinge in S^t^ Nicholas Lane, when m^r^ Yonge did take them ther, the[y] did then make Choyse of their Doctor Teacher Deacons and elders, and that Iohnson thelder then was chosen Pastor, Grenewood teacher, Studley and knyfton Elders, Lee and Bowman Deacons. /
He saieth that their Doctor and Pastor weare mayntained by Contribuc*ion* from amongest them eu*ery* one as his abilitie was, by Weekelie collecc*ion*, / and that he for his p*ar*te hath

yealded his contribucion this yere and this halfe, / and that the collection beynge gathered was deliuered to the Deacons to be distributed amongest those of that congregacion, which they [the] said Deacons did thinke good, and most to stand in neede. /

He saieth that they did vse to excommunicate amongst them, and that one Robert Stokes, and one George Collier, and one or twoe more whose names he Remembreth not, wear excommunicated, for that they discented from them in opinion but in what poynte he Remembreth not, and that the said Iohnson thelder did denounce thexcommunicacion against them, and concernynge ther manner of proceadinges to excommunicacion he saieth, that they the saide Stokes and the Rest beynge privatelye admonished of their pretended errors, and not conforminge them selves, and by Witnes produced to their congregacion, then the said Iohnson, with the Consent of the whole Congregacion, did denounce the excommunicacion, and that sithence they weare excomunicated which was a halfe yere and somewhat more sithence, they wear not admitted into their Churche /, And beynge demaunded whether he could be contented to forsake the said congregacion, and repaiere to his parishe Churche, or not, he saieth he knoweth not, nor can see any cause whye he should soe refraine the said congregation. /

Concordat cum Original

...

[April 4, 1593.]

George Kniveton [Knifton] of Newgate market potecary of the age of xxiiij$^{or}$ yeres

.....[1]

First that he hath bene in prison this fortnight...taken in the company of Penry and others in the howse of one Lewes in Stepney. /

Item he confesseth that he is one of the elders of their congregacion

.....

Item he saythe he hath had conference with M$^{r}$ [Robert ?]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 76 verso.

Browne whoe perswaded him not to recive the Communyon and synce hath had conference with Barrowe with Greenewood and with Penry and was made Elder about half a yere since and that he misliketh Cartwryghts plan [?] of Church goverment. /

Item he sayeth he hath bene at thassemblies most comonly vppon euery sonday and sometyme vppon the weeke dayes sometymes in S^t^ Nicholas Lane somtymes at Nicholas Lees and somtymes at m^r^ Bilsons by Chrichurch sometymes at the woodes by Islington and Detford and at Iohn Barnes his his [*sic*] howse by S^t^ barthelmewes. /

.....

4. Aprilis. *1593.* William Mason of Wappinge Shipwright of the age of xxiiij. yeres, or theiraboutes,... .....[1]

First, that he hath bene in prison in the Counter in the Poultrye,...beinge taken in the wood. /

.....

Item, that he was never at Churche since Christmas last, and soe longe he hath held his opinions, perswaded therto by Edward Chandler a Shipwright, and went to the woodde, with Roger Rippon. / and hathe bene at ther assemblies about xij. tymes. viz. at Nicholas lane, at Roger Rippons howse, at Detford woodde, and at the woods by Islington, when he was taken, and at Daniell Buckes howse, a scrivenour by Algate. and hath seene diuerse children Baptised, and gave to the Deacons, vjd. a weeke when he had money.

.....

Concordat cum Original

.....

*bayled*

[April 4, 1593.]

Henrye Withers of Detford Strande, Shipwright, aged xxvij. yeres, or theraboutes, .....[2]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 69 recto.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 69 verso.

First that he hath bene in prison a month,...
Item, he saieth he hath held his opinions, but since Mich*aelmas* last, and was drawen to his opinions, p*er*swaded therto by the teachinge of Iohnson and Greenewood,
Item, he saieth he was most Comonlie, at ther assemblies, eu*ery*e Sondaye, sometymes at S$^{t}$ Nicholas lane, at the woods by Islington, at Rippons howse, and in Smythfeild at Lees howse, and at the wood by Detford, and sawe diu*ers* Children ther baptized. /

.....

Concordat cu*m* Original

.....

*bayled*

[April 4, 1593.]

Thomas Hewet of S$^{t}$ Martyns Le grand pursemaker aged xxx yeares

.....[1]

Fyrst he saythe he hath bene in prison a monthe...taken in the wood by Islington.

.....

Item he hath not bene at Churche this half yere and soe longe he hath held his opinions and will not showe by whome he was p*er*swaded to it but only by one Edward Hale a herteffordshire man. /

.....

Concordat cu*m* original

.....

[April 4, 1593.]

*Christ*ofer Bowman of Smythfeld Gowldsmyth of the age of xxxij yeres,...

.....[2]

First, that he hath bene in prison in the Counter, in the Poultre, this v. weekes, comitted by m$^{r}$ yonge, beinge suspected to have knowledge whoe made the Libell, and about the Coffyn brought to m$^{r}$ yonges dore. /...

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 76 recto.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 70 recto and verso.

Item, he saieth he is a Deacon in the congregacion chosen in September last. /

Item, he saieth he hath not bene at Churche these fyve yeres last past, wherof he was iiij^or^, yeres in prison, and soe longe hath held his opinions, and was one of them that deliuered the Supplicacion to the Queenes Maiestie the last parliament, before this. /

Item, he saieth he was drawen to his opinions, by the course that the forward preachers tooke, and by a booke, and by a booke [*sic*] of a sermon vpon the xij^th^. of the Romans, made by master Chatterton, as he thinketh, and by the forward preachers, he saieth he meaneth one Snape, and kynge, with others, whose course made him enter into further searche of the matter of the reformacion. /

Item, he saieth he hath bene at ther metings as often as he Could, beynge at libertie, and in health, viz. at m^r^ Bilsons howse neere Chrichurche, at S^t^ Nicholas lane, in the woods by Detford, and Islington, at Penries howse, at Lees howse, and at Rippons howse, and at Barnes his howse in Smithfeld by S^t^ Bartholomewes. /

.....

Item, he saieth if ther nomber should never soe moche have encreased, they ment noe Reformacion by stronge hande. /

.....

Item, beinge asked wher he was maried to his last wief, saieth in Penries howse, wher m^r^ Settle vsed praier, and that his opinion is that mariage in a howse without a mynister by Consent of the parties and frends is sufficient. /

Concordat cum original

.....

5. Aprilis. *1593* Thexaminacion of Iohn Penrie Clerke, of the age of xxx. yeres, or theraboutes, .....[1]

First, that he was in or about London, the xix^th^. of marche, and that he and Edward Grave went that night to Hodsdon, wher they laie, at the Antelopp. /

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 86.

Item, beynge asked whether they went not from thence to one Iohn millettes howse in hertfordshere, saieth he will not saie... /

Item he saieth he came out of Scotland about September, last, in the Company of Iohn Edwards /, and came to london, and lighted at the Corke at longe lane end, and that night lodged at Stretford bowe. /

Item, he saieth he made, and caused to be printed in Scotland, a booke intituled a Reformacion and noe enemye to her Maiestie and the State. / and a boke which he translated called Thesis genevencium. /

Item, beynge asked what other bookes he made and caused to be printed ther he Refuseth to answear. /

Item, he saieth the cause of his departinge out of this lande, was because he could not be in quiet here, for the ecclesiasticall state of the land. /

Concordat cum Original

.....

[Apr. 5, 1593.]

*Christ*ofer Simkins of Aldersgate strete Coppersmyth of the age of xxij yeres or ther aboutes examined before m^r^ deane of Westminster m^r^ dale m^r^ Barne and m^r^ yonge, the daie and yere aforesaid, refuseth to be sworne but sayeth /[1]

First that he hath bene in prison this monthe, comitted by m^r^ yonge and others, taken in the wood by Islington examined before m^r^ Doctor Stanhop and others at his Comitment, and not since, and never indicted to his knowlege

Item he saieth he hath not bene at his parishe Church this yere and a half last past, and soe longe hath held his oppinions, and drawen therto by the preachinge of m^r^ Sparkes and m^r^ Cowper and other forward preachers. /

Item he confesseth he hath bene often at the assemblies and comonly every sabothe daye but refuseth to tell wher.

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 182

Item he refuseth to tell whether he hath had any of Barrowe or Penries bookes. /
Item he sayeth if ther nomber had increased they would not have donn [?] any other thinge but serve god /
Item he refuseth to come to his parishe Churche, and sayeth he is ioyned to their congregacion from whence he will not departe. /

Concordat cum original

.....

5. Aprilis *1593*

Francis Iohnson minister, but by thassamblies chosen to be a Pastor of the congregacion, beinge of the age of xxxj yeres or ther abouts, examined before M^r^ doctour Cesar, m^r^ doctour Goodman deane of Westminster m^r^ Barne and m^r^ yonge. whoe refuseth to be sworne, but saieth[1].

First that he was first comitted to the Counter in woodstrete by the Sherif of London and m^r^ younge, beinge taken in an assemblie in S^t^ Nicholas Lane, and lastlye comitted by the L. Archbyshop of Canterbury and others, beinge taken in m^r^ Boyses howse in Fletestrete, and hath bene twice examined before the L. Chief Iustice of England, and the L: Anderson viz. once before the L. Chief Iustice of England, and once before them bothe.
Item he saieth he knoweth not that he is indicted for any offence.
Item beinge asked howe longe he hath held his oppinions saith he cannot definitely answer, but sayth he was comitted to prison iiij^or^ [quatuor] yeres agoe, vppon the makinge of a Sermon in S^t^ maries Churche [in Cambridge]. /
Item he confesseth he hath baptized diuerse children in their congregacion, and saieth for mariage he doeth not accompt that an ecclesiasticall matter, nor laid vppon the minister of god as a dewetie of his ministerie, and also sayth they are not bound no^r^ tied to the wordes of the Lordes praier, and touchinge the Communion of the Lordes supper he saieth it maye be

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 181 recto and verso.

received, at any tyme of the daie or night, when the congregacion is assembled and prepared thervnto. /
Item beinge required to shewe in what places they vsed to meete in their conventicles and assemblies, refuseth to answer /
Item being asked whether he hath or had anye of Barrowe Greenewood or Penries bookes, refuseth also to answer but desireth he maye be accused. /
Item beinge asked whether he hath not labored and perswaded others to the assemblies and Congregacion wherof he is a Pastor, and howe manie he hath soe perswaded and drawen saieth he hath and must doe that which god laieth vppon him in dewtye accordinge to his worde, and otherwise refuseth to answer /
Item beinge asked whether he wilbe contented to reforme him self and come to Churche refuseth directly to answer but sayeth he cannot Ioyne with this ecclesiasticall ministerie, in this estate of Archbyshops Byshopps Parsons, Vicars, Curates &c. /
Concordat cum Original

.....

[The deposition of Iohn Edwardes concerning John Penry probably made on April 5, 1593.][1]

Iohn Edwardes came out of Scotlande with Penryn & laye by the way euery nighte where hee laye, and saieth that Penryn was not banished out of Scotland, but there was banishment decreed againste him, and the mynisters euer staye the proclayminge thereof.
Hee saieth that Penryn was of this assemblie and was taken by the waye and broughte to the Conestables house and from thence hee escaped away on sonday nighte and named himselfe Iohn Harries, and there were two or three Countreymen comynge towardes them wch were taken by the way and said they were goinge to waltham & therefore the Iustice discharged them
Hee saieth that one Iones was taken & wente home to dynner with Captein [?] Graye & was afterwardes broughte by him to the Iustice
Hee saieth that on Satterday nighte hee this examinant walked

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 85 recto.

with Penryn alonge Cheapeside thoroughe Newgate & they wente to Nicholas Lees house & there this ex*aminan*t lefte penryn & his wife aboute vnj of the clocke hee knoweth not who should haue exercised that day, nor did not heare of any purpose that they had to goe into the Countreye /

His comynge out of Scotland with Penryn was in Nouember laste & they came firste to one m^r^ yretons house besides Darby vj miles, and dyned there & came to Northampton to the house of Henry Godley who is father in lawe to the said Penryn, where the said Penryn lodged, & this ex*aminan*t laye at the signe of the Bull; & the next day they came from thence to S^t^ Albans [?] & lodged at the signe of the *Christo*fer & the nexte day came to Stratford at bowe to the signe of the Crosse keyes [?] where Penryns wife was & had a chamber, and this ex*aminan*t lefte them there & came to London & sawe him no more vntill a little before Christmas that they mett at a garden house at the dukes place neere Allgate, where Penryn did preache & (as hee doeth remember) Grenewood did preache there allso & this ex*aminan*t wente downe into the Countrey & came not vp vntill Satterday was Sevenighte & since hath laien at his brother Rochford his house, And vpon wensdaye or thursday morninge Penryn came to this ex*aminantes* chamber before hee was vp & was booted

hee saieth that hee did heare that Penryn was lodged at m^rs^ Settles house

Ry*chard* young

5. Aprilis. *i593.* Will*iam* Smythe of Bradford in wilts*hire* minister of the age of xxx. yeres or therabout*es*, made a minister by the Bushopp of Litchefeld and Coventrie, and licenced to preache by the Bushopp of Saru*m*... .....[1]

First, he saieth he hath bin in prison this vnj. weekes, or ther about*es*, Comitted...for suspic*i*on to be privie to the matters conc*er*ninge the Coffin caried to m^r^ yonges Doore. /

.....

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 71 recto.

Item, he confesseth he hath bine at an assemblie, at Lees howse, by Smythfeld./
Item, beynge asked whether he be of that Churche or Congregacion wherof Iohnson is Pastor, refuseth to answear./
Item, he saieth he came of purpose to Lees howse to thassemblie there to heare and see ther orders in those matters./
.....
Item, he saieth he came vp to London to conferr with m^r^ Iohnson, Greenwood, and others./
.....

Concordat cum Original

....

[April 5, 1593.]

Arthur Billet of llanteglos by Fowhey in Cornwell Scoller, of the age of xxv. yeres, or theraboutes.....[1]

First, that he hath bene in Prison this fortnight,...who was in the woode by Islington, and afterwards taken in the Companye of Penrye and others,...
Item, he hath bene drawen to his opinnions, these two yeres,/ perswaded by certen conferences in the Fleete, betweene m^r^ Mullins, m^r^ Hutchinson, and Barrowe and Greenewood./
.....
Item, he denieth that he hath or had any of Barrowes, Greenewoods, or Penries bookes, but hath receivid some of the written Coppies, and caried them over into the Lowe Cuntries to be printed, and that he hathe seene one of Barrowes bookes, in Nicholas Lees howse.....
.....

Concordat cum Original

.....

6. Aprilis. *1593.* Quintin Smyth of Southwarke Feltmaker of the age of xxx. yeres, or ther aboutes... .....[2]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 71 verso.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 79 recto.

First, that he hath bene in prison a moneth,...beynge taken in a wood by Islington,...
Item, he saieth he hath held his opinnions about twoe yeres,...
.....
Item, he sayeth he did covenaunt with the Congregacion to walke with them in the lawes of god, soe longe as ther doinges, should be approved by the word of god, and soe longe would forsake all other assemblies /,

Concordat cum Original

....

["6. Aprilis. 1593."]

William Weaver of Grayes Inne lane Shomaker, of the age of xl. yeres, or theraboutes,...[1]

First, that he hath bene in prison a monthe,...beynge taken in the wood neere Islington,...
Item, he hath bene of his opinions, about a yeare and a halfe and somewhat more, / and hath bene often at assemblies, viz. twice or thrice at the wood wher they weare taken and once in Nicholas Lees howse in Cowe lane, and was drawen first to the assemblies, by Robert Bodkin, in Grayes Inne lane, Taylor. /
.....
Item, he saieth that if their Nomber had greatly encreased, yet he thinketh thay ment nothinge against the peace or estate [i.e., the State]. /
Item, he saieth that when he was ioyned to their congregacion, they caused him to vse words to this effect, that he should promise to walke with them, soe longe as the[y] followed the ordinance of Christ. /

.....

["6. Aprilis. 1593."]

Thomas Settle late of Cowelane, minister, made by Bushopp Freke, but nowe renownceth that ministrye, of the age of xxxviij. yeares or their aboutes,...[2]

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 65 verso and 66 recto.

.....

Item, he Confesseth that he was present in the Congregacion in a howse nighe Algate, within the Wall, when Robert Stokes was excommunicated, and that he was excomunicated by Francis Iohnson the Pastor, the rest of the officers and the Congregacion beinge present and consentinge, which was done for his Apostacy. /

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

10 [?] Aprilis 1593 George Smelles of Fynchelane taylor of the age of xl yeares or thereabouts...[1]

Firste he sayeth he hath ben in prison ever since sondaye laste...

Item he sayeth he hath his oppinions thes iiij$^{or[?]}$ yeares perswaded thereto by an old man one father Grayves a Carpenter as he supposeth who is deceased

.....

Concordat cum Original

...

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 59 recto.

# VII

## DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN DEPOSITIONS RELATING TO JOHN PENRY

[An undated Petition of Helen Penry's to Sir John Puckering in her Husband's Behalf, written in April, 1593.][1]

To the right honorable *Sir* Iohn Puck-
ering Knight Lord Keep*er* of her
Ma*iesties* greate seale of England. /

In all humblenes beseecheth yo*ur* honno*ur* yo*ur* poore supplic*ant* Hellen Penrie in the behalf of her poore husband Iohn Penrie, That whereas your supplic*antes* poore husband is at this p*re*sent kept close prisoner in the Counter in the Poultrie in London, none suffered to come to him to bring him such thinges as are necessary for the p*re*servac*ion* of his life and sustanaunce, he of him selfe being a very weake and sicklie man not hable longe to endure so hard and miserable imprisonment w*ith*out hazard of his life, his allowaunce being nothing but bread & drinke, the keeper refusing to carry such necessaries as are sent vnto him for his sustenaunce, yf he were the veriest Traito*r* that ever was, if it is not her Ma*iesties* pleasure that he shold be thus hardlie vsed, but how soeue*r* greate matters are laide to his charge, yet I hope he will prove him selfe an honest and good subiect to her Ma*iestie*. Most humblie therefore she beseecheth yo*ur* honno*ur* for gode*s* cause in consideraci*on* of her poore husbandes sicklie and weake estate, that it wold please yow to graunte her yo*ur* honnou*rs* warrant that she maye have accesse vnto her poore husband, to administer such necessaryes vnto him as she may for the p*re*servac*ion* of his life, And yo*ur*

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 207 recto.

poore Oratrice shall be bound daylie to praise god for so greate favour and Mercy shewed vnto her, w^ch^ the Lord wold not see vnrewarded in yow. /

[A Note by John Penry in defence of Mr. Gittens, Keeper of the "Cownter in the Poultrie in London", dated April, 1593.][1]

They doe m^r^ Gittens injury who say that I have wanted eyther meat or drink competent sync [?] I was committed vnto his custody. I am lyklyer to starve for could then for want of meate. my wife in deed cannot bee permitted to come vnto mee, shee knoweth not how I fare. And therfore she may bee in feere that I ame in regard of meat and drinke hardlyer [?] vsed then I ame or have been.

the 4^th^ moneth Aprill 1593.

Iohn Penry.

[A Subscription of John Penry's concerning the Authority of the Queen, of the Privy Council, and of Civil Magistrates, and three other articles which he declined to subscribe.][2]

That hir right exellent [?] ma*ies*tie, & the Lord*es* of hir honorable privy co[un]sell, yea the most inferio*ur* civill magistrate [?] vnder hir highnes hath authority to call any church or churchman to give an account of the doctrine w*hi*ch they hould & not fynding [?] the same according vnto the word may p*un*ish [?] them for it.

Iohn Penry

I stande to proue it out of ther owne writing*es* [?] vpo*n* my life that they allowe not the magistrates of whatsoeuer [?] place they be ether supreme, or inferio*ur*, to haue any authoritie as they call it (authoritate*m* Iuris) in causes Ecclesiasticall, but only potestatem facti to execute that w*hi*ch their presbyterie or Synodes have decreed.

R. Vaughan.

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 206 recto.

[2] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 93.

I hold. That the inferiour ciuill magistrate hath no authoritie to call the Church or any churchman to giue accounte of their doctrine (without expresse commandement from the supreme magistrate) by open & publike triall.

R. Vaughan.

I hold that the most inferiour magistrate hath nothing to doe to examyne any Churchman concerning his doctrine but only to presente him, ether to the Church governours, or to other ciuill magistrates to take further order with him...

Rich. Vaughan /

He refused to subscribe
to any of these. or to
controuerte [?] them

["The offers & requestes of m^r^ Iohn Penryn"][1]

Vnlawfull
1 The offices
2 The maner of calling vnto y^e^ offices
3 A great part of y^e^ workes wherin the officers are employed
4 The living ore [or] maytenaunc wherby the officers are mayntayned.———

Thes thinges by the Lordes assistaunc wee wilbe ready to make good by the word of god, & yff it bee thought needfull by the writinges of y^e^ holy martyres of this land (wherof [?] some are privileged by hir maiesties authority) and also by the doctrine of y^e^ reformed churches.———

A conferenc wee are most willing to yeald vnto. Our humble request vnto hir maiestie & their honours is that yf it may so stand with their pleasure, wee may have but this æquity yealded vnto vs in it.

1 That the questiones one [on] both sydes layed downe in writing, the reasons briefly annexed vnto them, the awnswers also may with y^e^ lyke

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 209–210.

brevity bee returned in writing, & so every thing wilbe the more deliberatly sett downe & all bye speaches & matters shalbe avoyded.

2. That such of vs as are scollers one [on] the one syde, may conferr together (having also the vse of bookes) about the awnswers & replyes that wee shalbe to make [*sic*]———

3. That those of the ecclesiasticall state with whome[?] wee are to deale may bee but partyes [?] in this conferenc & not judges. And that some of the civill state may bee appoynted by their honours (yf their Lordshipes will not tak y^e^ hearinge of y^e^ cause them selves which wee had rather & ernestly crave) to see that both partyes[?]/ do contayn them selves within boundes: least otherwise eyther the holy truth of god should not bee so delt in as it beseemeth the same: or so holy & necessary an action should bee vnprofitablie broken of, by the infirmytyes or other greater wantes of eyther partyes [?].

Iohn Penry.

[A Letter concerning John Penry's Confession of Faith and Apology dated, "Mon. 6. 12. 1593."][1]

Right honourable,...I am bolde allso to sende to your Lordship a shorte confession of faith, and an Apologie, drawen by y^t^ faithfull wittnes of Christe, our brother Penry, before his death, By which plainely appeareth, what his fayth was towards god, & nowe is partaker of y^t^ crowne of life which is promised by Christe to all them that are faithfull vnto deathe./. The poore remnaunte of poore christians (who are falsely called Brownistes) doe all of vs generally agree with y^t^ our faithfull brother in y^t^ confession of faith and allegiaunce to god & her maiestie as we have often declared to y^e^ worlde, in other lyke confessions,

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 143. Dr John Waddington in his "John Penry", 1854, pp. 279–80, indicates that the original of this letter was written by Francis Johnson to Lord Burleigh.

w*h*ich now I have not by mee, to sende allso to yo*u*r Lo*rdship* as otherwise I woulde have don*ne*,...

[John Penry's Answer to Fifteen Slanderous Articles, written not long before his death.][1]

A short and true answer to *the* p*ar*tycular slanders conteyned in these—15—most false and malycyous Artycles w*h*ich lately were cast abroad in reproch of the true Christians whom they vnChristianly call Brownist*es*. And first to ther tytle as is in that Copy that came to o*u*r hand*es*.

The tytle to the slanderous Artycles.—

An abstract of the opinions which *the* Brownists do mainteyn

That you call true Christians by *the* name of Brownist*es* we meruaile not for we find that the Apostles were said to be of the Sect of *the* Nazarites and therfore with them also we do confesse that that way w*h*ich you call a sect, and Brownisme, we worshipp God the father of o*u*r Lord Ihesus Christ beleeuing all thing*es* that are wrytten in the Law, the Prophett*es* and Apostles and whatsoeuer according to this rule is published by this State, or holden of any refourmed Churches abroad. These opynions therfore w*h*ich are falsely[?] and malycyously fathered upon vs, we vtterly renounce them as none of o*u*rs, because they agree not with the word of God w*h*ich is the rule of truth, nor with the allegeance w*h*ich in the Lord we owe, and are carefully to perfourme to her Ma*ie*stie her Counsell, and this State, and we returne them vpon the detractors themselues as *the* true fathers of such blasphemous lyes and slanders, w*h*ich are the brood and ymaginations of their own corrupt hart*es*, as shall more fully appeare by this short but true answer to the partyculars—.

a. Acts. 24. 5.
b. [?] Acts. 24. 14.

[1] Add. MS. c. 303 (fol. 200–203 recto), in the Bodleian Library.

# A PATERNE OF TRVE PRAYER.

A LEARNED AND COMFORTable Expoſition or Commentarie vpon the Lords Prayer: wherein the Doctrine of the ſubſtance and circumſtances of true inuocation is euidently and fully declared out of the holie Scriptures.

*By* IOHN SMITH, *Miniſter and Preacher of the Word of God.*

*AT LONDON*
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Article .1.—Inprimis they affirme that there is no true Catholik Church in all the world but theirs, and that all Churches elce whatsoeuer are the Synagogues of Sathan. /

We beleue and confesse that the Catholique Church consisteth of *the* faithfull and elect w*hi*ch haue bene or shalbe vpon the earth from the beginning to *the* end of the world, of all nations, people kindred and tongues, so far are we through the mercy of God from this palpable ignorance wherwith yt seemeth our aduersaryes are blynded, who as yet haue not learned to distinguish betwene a partycular Congregation and the Catholique that is the vnyversall Church [.] We hold a Christian and reuerend iudgment of the East Churches and of *the* refourmed Churches in this part of *the* world, and are so farr from affirming them to be the Synagogue of Antichrist, as we doubt not but they haue refused and cast of the Antichristian Prelacy Priesthood, Tyranny and superstitions, and endeuor to obey o*ur* Lord Ihesus Christ in his owne ordynances as by their owne publike confession and practyze yt appeareth. But let o*ur* aduersaryes looke vnto yt how they account of the refourmed Churches abroad seing they haue denyed such to be suffycyent and lawfull Ministers of the Ghospell of Christ, who haue bene of those Churches allowed & ordayned therevnto and on the other syde (as the Papist*es* themselues report) haue allowed & receyued such as were of late made Priest*es* at Roome or Rhemes vpon recantation of some of their Popish opynions to be ministers here of these assemblyes in England, without any other ordination then they there had receyued before— Answer.— Job. 10. 16. Rom. 7. 9. Mr Whyting. Mr Trauers. Mr Wright. Tyrrell & Tythes.

Article .2.—Item. That they haue power to excommunicate all that will not be of their faction or (as they terme yt) of their Church, and *that* whosoeuer shalbe by them excommunycate, is damned vnlesse he shalbe by them absolved.—

No Church hath power to Excommunycate any but such as are members of the same Church, for can they excommunycate such as haue neuer bene in Comm*u*nyon with them. and what haue they to doe to iudge them that are without. So as here Answer.—. 1. Cor. 5. 11. 12..

againe [?] *our* adversaries while they belye vs, laye open their owne grosse ignorance in *the* matters of God. If any member of the Church deseruing to be excom*m*unycate do refuse to heare the Church, obstinatly persisting in his knowen and greeuous Schysmes or synnes, and therevpon is by the Church
Mat. 18. 17. 18. cast out in the name and power of the Lord Ihesus according to his word then Christ hath said let him be to thee as a heathen, verely I say vnto you whatsoeuer ye bind &c.— And doth not also the Apostle wryght vnto the Churches of Corinth, that they should forgyue and Comfort him vpon his repentance of whom before he had wrytten to them, that in
2. Cor. 2. 7. regard of this synne, he hauing bene a brother, they should
Compare with 1. Cor. 5. 4. 5. being gathered together by the power of Christ delyuer him vnto Sathan for *the* destruction of *the* flesh that &c. That in the Pryde of theyr hartes they call the Church of Christ a faction we leaue vnto God who iudgeth.—

> Article .3.—Item that they haue excommunicat [*sic*] the Churches of England & Ireland aswell the Queen as the Counsell and all others, and therfore she and all the rest of her subiects are damned vnlesse they wilbe absolued by them and so admytted into the Church.—

Answer.— Such is *our* Innocency herein (blessed be God) as we do appeale to God to whose eyes all thing*es* are naked and open after thexample of Dauyd when he was likewyse falsely accused and slaundred by Cush, saying. O Lord *our* God, yf we haue done this thing if this wickednes be in *our* handes, nay yf yt entred into *our* thought*es*, let thenemy p*er*secute *our* soule and take yt, yea let him tread *our* lyfe downe vpon the earth, and lay *our* honor &c. Aryse O Lord and lift vp thy selfe against the rage of *our* enemyes, and awake for vs according to the iudgment w*hi*ch thou hast appoynted. Iudge thou vs O Lord according to *our* righteousnes, and according to *our* ynnocency. O let the malyce of the wicked come to an end, but guyde thou the iust, for the righteous God tryeth the very hart*es* and reynes. Our defence is in God, who preserueth the vpright in hart. Furthermore we acknowledge, that yt were greeuous synne for

vs to Condemne any, and therfore (as we ought) we leaue all others and *our* selues to the iudgm*ent* of God in that day, when all flesh shall appeare before him to receyue according to that they haue done in their bodyes whether yt be good or euyll [.] And in the meane tyme (as yt becometh vs to iudge) we are perswaded *that* her Maiestie and many thowsandes of her Subiectes, (who as yet differ in iudgm*ent* amongst themselues and from vs in many thinges) are the deare Children of God, and heyres of saluation through faith in Christ Ihesus, and according to *our* duty (God being wyttnes to *our* soules) we do dayly acknowledge, and do dayly prayse God for the great and wonderfull thinges *which* God by the most gracyous gouernm*ent* of her most excellent Maiestie and her honorable Counsell hath brought to passe both for the matters of God in relygyon, and for the matters of the land in the Peace and safetie thereof. And we pray God to encrease the same every day more and more to the prayse of his most gloryous name and to *the* honor of *our* Prince to whom we wish the dayes of Methuselah yf yt be the will of God, that she may be an ancyent mother in Israell. to the comfort of her Subiectes in protecting them that do well, and taking vengeance on them that do euyll.—

1. Cor. 4. 5 *with* .2 Cor. 5. 20. Phil. 1. 6. 7.

Gen. 5. 27. Iudg. 5. 7.

Article .4.—Item. that the ministers of the Church of England are not true and lawfull ministers, but they are the hirelings of Antichrist and that the B. B. [Bishops] are the forerunners.—

Answer.— The ministers of these assemblies haue bene often and earnestly intreated to shew out of the scriptures their ministery in their offyce, and execution of their offyce, according to the rules of the Testament of Christ, which hetherto they haue not done, neither are able to do, Moreouer euen themselues haue taught and published that *our* Lord Ihesus Christ hath in his word for the administracion of holy thinges, appoynted *the* offyces of Pastor, Doctor Elders, and Deacons to contynue to the end of the world together with their lawfull entrance and execution of their duties, that his Church may be instructed, and gouerned, and holpen according to his owne ordynance, to *which* only he hath promysed his presence and blessing. Also that they haue

not this ministery, but that they haue (*which* are their owne wordes) an Antichristian Hierarchy, and a Popish ordering of Ministers, strange from the word of God, and the vse of all the refourmed Churches in *the* world [.] If that which is here spoken of B B, be meant of the Bishopps *which* were in the Primitiue Church, then we hold no such thing of them as is here ymagined, For those Bishopps were eyther Pastors, Doctors, or ruling Elders, whom the holy Ghost by the immediate calling of the Church, made ouerseers not of whole Prouynces and Shires but of their partycular flock and Church as is evident by the scriptures noted in the margin and by these expresse wordes *κατ' εκκλησιαν. κατα* in euery Church and euery Cyttie and such like. If they meane of *the* Prelates of this age let themselues be their owne Iudges.—

Admonition. 2 treat./ sect. 20.

Act. 20. 17. 28. cum. 14. 23. Tit. 1. 5. 7. 1. Tim. 5. 17. Phil. 1. 1. 2. Rom. 12. 7. 8.

> Article .5.—That for stealing a man ought not to be put to death, because his body is the temple of the holy ghost distinguishing sophistically betwen [*sic*] fur & latro [.]

Answer.— We do acknowledge that by the word of God in some cases of stealing a man may be put to death, as If one sett vpon a man in the hye way, If a thief be found breaking into a howse in the night or such like, but that euery stealing should be punished with death, the lawes of the land do not requyre, as appeareth by the other punishmentes sett downe, of whipping, boring through the eare, marking the handes and such like, as when a man stealeth a little to satisfie his soule because he is hungry. Sophisticate distinctions are their owne, we do not vse nor acknowledge them for ours—

> Article .6.—Item. That all we that are baptized, are not baptized rightly & therfore must be baptized againe.—

Answer.— a. harmo. of conf. sect. 10.— We confesse with the French Church who haue published yt, that they which are baptized in Papisticall assemblies need not to be baptized the second tyme, no more then the Circumcysion *which* was had in the defection of Israell and false ecclesiasticall constitution with them, and euen as those sinned greeuously

w*hi*ch abode and had their children Cyrcumcysed in that defection of Israell, So in that case they hauing indeed plaid *the* harlott and forsaken God (whatsoeuer they pretend) and God having cast them away and geuen them a bill of diuorcement, the Sacrament*es* and seales of God his couenant do not belong vnto them, neyther do those where they vse [*sic*], seale vnto them in that estate the Couenant of grace. And further how they administer or receyue baptisme aright without a true and lawfull ministery, yea sometymes by a woman and in pryvate houses with a devised Litargie, Idolatrous crossing, and propounding questions to the Infant w*hi*ch vnderstandeth not wherto the Godfathers and Godmothers must make answer, and such like, we leaue to theyr [?] owne examynations by the scriptures, and their owne publike wrytinge*s*.— Ier. 3. 8.

Article .7.—Item. we receyue the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper not rightly as Christ did constitute the same & therfore we receyue to condemnation.—

Answer.— It doth not follow that yf any receyue the Supper of the Lord not rightly that he shalbe condemned, for yt is a synne w*hi*ch God pardoneth as other the synnes of his Children. The Church of Corinth synned greeuously in not receyuing this Sacrament aright according to the institution of Christ, and were therfore indeed chastyzed of God, some by sicknes, some by weaknes, and some by death. and yet the Apostle saith expressly they were thus corrected of God, that they might not be condemned with the world. No Lutheran w*hi*ch holdeth consubstantiation can in that error receyue this Sacrament aright according to Christ his institution, yet we doubt not but many of them w*hi*ch erre herein, are the elect of God and saued by his grace. What is yt then ? surely when they eate of that bread and drinck of that Cupp vnworthylie and not aright they eate and drinke iudgment vnto themselues. But as we said, such is *the* mercy of God to his Children, as washeth away this with their other infinite synnes, in the blood of that immaculate Lamb the Lord Ihesus Christ, w*hi*ch yet should not encourage any in the same, but seing there is such infinite mercy with God, the more to feare him, and to stryue by all meanes to eate 1. Cor. 11. 20. 21. 23. 29. 30. 1. Cor. 11. 32. Psal. 130. 4.

of that bread and to drinke of that Cupp worthely. But how these assemblies in this State can receyue yt aright according to Christ his institution, let them selues iudge, when as by their owne Confession and practise all their ministers are Arch-Bishopps, Lord Bishopps, and Priestes or Deacons made and ordeyned by these Prelates, so as they haue not that true and Lawfull ministery, which Christ in his last Testament hath appointed for the administracion of his holy thinges there bequeathed vnto his Church, when as also themselues being wyttnesses they vse not the wordes of Christ his institucion. Take, eate, this is the body &c. Not to speake here of their pryvate Communyon stinted Litargie, Epistles. Ghospells and such like, all which in that vse, Christ neuer instytuted

Admon. to the Parl. treat. 1.

Article .8.—Item. They hold a communyty of goodes.—

Answer.— We hold no Anabaptisticall Communytie of goodes at all, only such communyty as the Apostles and Primitiue Church held and vsed. We confesse yt to be our duties and the dutie of all Christians to hold and vse the like (that is) that euery one according to his ability as God hath prospered him be ready to minister succor vnto the Brotherhood, and to distribute to their necessyties as is wrytten Iho. 3. 17. Whosoeuer hath this worldes good and seeth his brother haue need and shutteth vp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of god in him?. Other communytie hold we none, but as the Apostle said to Ananius. Whilst yt remayned appertayned yt not to thee? and after yt was sold was yt not in thy power? So we also hold, that the right and propertie of whatsoeuer any possesseth, appertayneth vnto him who is the owner and possessor thereof only he is carefully to looke vnto yt that he be a good and faithfull Steward of that which God hath commytted vnto him, doing good to all, but chiefly to them which are of the houshold of faith.

Act. 11. 29. 1. Cor. 16. 12. Rom. 12. 13.

Gal. 6. 10.

Article .9.—Item. He that wilbe a brother, must geue for his admission into their fellowship the tenth penny of his goodes, to which he must be sworne.—

We do no such thing, but *our* aduersaries haue framed this as the rest, of their owne Corrupt hart*es*: we are p*er*swaded yt is the free and gracyous worke of God to add to the Church from day to day such as shalbe saued. Tything became *the* Iewes priesthode better then the ministery of the Ghospell, yf we marke the manner of mayntenance that was in *the* Apostles tymes: And indeed we thinke that her Ma*ies*tie might greatlie gloryfy God, and bring much peace to her Subiect*es*, in taking the Lordly revenewes of the Prelat*es* and Priest*es* into her owne handes, to employ them otherwyse as her Ma*ies*tie shall thinke good to her highnes owne vse, and the benefyte of the land. Only for this error and for endevoring to serue Christ and obey him in his own ordynance ecclesiasticall, do the Prelates *our* great aduersaryes persecute vs, although they do yt vnder another colour.— Answer.—

Article .10—Item. Baptisme must be administred with rayne water.—

We hold no such thing, but this also hath the father of lyes by these his ministers forged as the rest. Indeed the scryptures say that vpon the wicked god will rayne snares fire and brimstone and stormy tempest, the portion of their cupp. Let *our* aduersaries fear (yf they repent not) that they shalbe babtized with this baptisme of rayne, because the Lord of hostes hath determyned yt and who shall disanull yt? Answer.— Psal. 11. 6.

Article .11.—Item That all set prayer is blasphemous, and therfore *the* Lords prayer printed [.]

We thanke God we are so farr from thinking blasphemously any manner of way of that most absolute fourme of prayer called the Lordes prayer, as we doubt not to affyrme, that whosoeuer holde yt to be blasphemous they are horrible wicked men, worthie to be cutt of from the face of the earth. As for *our* selues we hold yt Canonycall scripture, that yt is a most abolute fourme and rule of all trew [?] prayer, that no Angell or man whatsoeuer are able to sett downe the like, that yf they should sett downe anie other, yet all Christians ought to pray only by this rule w*hi*ch Christ *our* Sauyor the wisdome of the Answer.— Mat. 6. 9. Luk. 11. 2.

father hath prescribed. That herein he hath taught vs .1. to whom to pray, that is, to God only, and not to any Angell or Saint whatsoeuer .2. with what affeccion, that is, with faith and confidence of his willingnes to heare and help vs as being *our* father and of his abilitie thereunto as being in heauen, that is (as the Scrypture expoundeth yt) able to do whatsoeuer he will. 3. To what end. That God in and ouer all may be gloryfyed. 4. For what thinges to pray. According to the seuerall occasyons and necessyties *which* God ministreth and layeth vpon vs, here being in few wordes comprised* but indeed fully comprehended all the occasyons and necessyties that euer haue bene or shalbe offered of prayer vnto God by *the* Church or anie member thereof, in any age place or State whatsoeuer, as may appeare by this, that all the prayers sett downe in the scriptures, *which* the men of God vpon so manie seuerall occasyons offered vp vnto God, are all comprised in this most absolute patterne, who yet did not vse these very wordes, so as it is plaine that *our* Sauyor Christ himselfe did not tye his disciples or thers to *the* vse of these wordes, *which* yet men now a dayes in their ignorance & superstition are not ashamed to do. If yt be obiected that Christ said. λεγετε. say Our father &c. We answer first that the scrypture yt selfe sheweth his meaning herein to be, not that the disciples or others should be tyed to vse these very wordes, but that in prayer and geuing of thankes they should followe his direction and patterne *which* he had geuen them, that they might know to whom, with what affeccion and to what end to pray as yt is expresslie sett downe in these wordes. After this manner therfore pray ye, and not as men will now haue vs. Say ouer these very wordes. Secondly we doubt not but we may vse anie of these wordes as others applying them to *our* seuerall necessyties as we see Christ himselfe did when he prayed. O my father yf this cupp cannot passe from me but that I must drinke yt, thy will be done where yt is plaine that Christ himselfe who gaue the rule doth shew vs how to vse yt, to weet, not in a superstitious saying ouer those very wordes but in praying according to that rule as *our* specyall necessyties shalbe, whether we vse any of these wordes

* This is *the* opinion of Mr Caluyn. Mr Beza. Mr Vrsinus &c.*]*

Luk. 11. 2.

Mat: 26. 42.

or other, or pray with sighes & groanes that cannot be expressed. And here thirdly we would gladly know of *our* aduersaries yf Christ hath tyed vs to say these wordes when we praye and that such saying of these wordes be true prayer, how they will reconcyle vnto [*sic*] the assertion of the Apostle, w*hi*ch sayth. We know not what to pray as we ought, but the spyryt yt selfe maketh request for vs with grones that cannot be expressed. For we might haue answered the Apostle yes we know what to pray, to weet the Lordes prayer: neyther needed the spyryt to make request with sighes *that* cannot be expressed, for the saying of these wordes is enough, conteyning whatsoeuer we need to aske[.] And againe, it would be knowen how that same Apostles question in another Epistle will stand where he sayth. When thou prayest or geuest thankes in a strange tongue (for of that he speaketh) how shall he that occupieth the room of the vnlearned say Amen at thy geuing of thankes? seing he knoweth not what thou sayest. For yf they had bene tyed to the very fourme of the wordes of the Lordes prayer, or to any sett stinted wordes, yt might haue bene answered. Yes I know what he sayth when he prayeth or geueth thankes, he sayth the Lordes prayer, or some stinted or prescribed fourme of prayer w*hi*ch I know before hand, and therfore to yt, though yt be said in a strange tongue I can say Amen. Fourthly the Apostles. and disciples to whom first this rule was geuen were carefull no doubt to keep yt according to the meaning of *our* Sauyor Christ. But they did not tye themselues to these wordes, but prayed as they had seuerall occasyons according to this rule, as appeareth by their prayers expressly mencyoned in the scripture quoted in the margin, and when they wryte vnto others exhorting them vnto this heauenly duty of prayer they neuer in all their Epistles chardge them when they pray to say ouer the Lordes prayer, w*hi*ch doubtlesse they would haue done yf so yt had bene the will of Christ to haue yt vsed, but they teach and exhort them according to their seuerall necessyties and occasyons in all thing*es* to shew their request*es* vnto God in all maner of prayer and supplycac*i*on in *the* spyryt w*i*th geuing of thankes

Rom. 8. 26.

1 Cor. 14. 16.

Act. 1. 24. &. 4. 24. Mat. 14. 30. And by necessary consequence.— Phil. 4. 6. Eph. 6. 18. Iam. 5. 13. 1. Thes. 5[?]. 17. 18. Ioh. 5. 14 15. 16.

and herevnto to watch with all perseuerance, for this is *the* will of God in Christ Ihesus. Fiftly, Christ hath geuen an expresse Commaundm*ent*. When you pray say. &c. But to breake the Commaundm*ent* of Christ is synne, therfore yf Christes meaning were to tyc them or vs to this fourme of wordes, yf they or we pray at anie tyme and not vse these wordes yt is synne: But before yt appeareth that th'apostles [?] prayed and vsed not these wordes and yet synned not, and so we doubt not do all Christians dayly according to their dyvers occasyons and Conditions. Fynally. If Christes meaning were to haue vs vse these very wordes yt were great and intollerable presumption to offer vnto God any other, seing all thing*es* whatsoeuer we need aske for o*ur* selues or for others are here co*m*prehended, & seing Christ hath enioyned when you pray say. Our father &c.

Article .12.—Item. They affirme that our Communyon booke is blasphemy against the maiesty of God.—

Answer.— The primitive Churches, w*hi*ch by th'apostles were taught and setled in all *the* ordynances of o*ur* Lord Ihesus, were neuer tyed

1. Cor. 4. 17. & 11. 23. to any sett prayers or devised wayes of ministrac*i*on, but were taught to worshipp God and to administer his holy thing*es*

Mat. 28. 20. Rom. 16. 17. according as he had prescrybed in his Testament, w*hi*ch he sealed with his blood, and this only we hold yt o*ur* dutyes to follow as the Lord enableth vs, as for their booke of Common prayer wherein is prescribed the whole worshipp and rules of administration, let them first consyder what the best preachers

Admon. to *the* Parl. treat. 2. haue wrytten of yt aboue 20 yeares sythence to *the* Parliament

Admon to *the* Parl. treat. 1. viz: That yt is an vnperfyt booke culled and picked out of *that* Popish dunghill the masse booke, full of abhomynations, that they prophane the holy scriptures, that in all this order of seruyce there is no edification according to the rule of the apostle but confusion, and againe, that that fourme ys not commaunded of God. That in *the* Primitiue Churches the ministers were not so tyed to any fourme of prayers inuented by man, but as the spirit moued them, so they poured forth

harty supplications to *the* Lord, but that now they are bound of necessytie to a prescript order of servyce and booke of Common prayer, in which a great number of thinges contrary to God his word are conteyned: patched yf not alltogether, yet the greatest peece out of the popish portise [portasse]: When these thinges stand thus, euen in the Confession of the godlyest preachers and professors of these assemblies, let them selues next consider how meet this is for the Maiestie of God, and how acceptable vnto him to whom notwithstanding they dayly offer yt in the mediation of Ihesus Christ, who hath geuen giftes vnto men for the worke of his ministery, and maketh his Church an holy priesthood to offer vp spyrytuall sacryfyces acceptable to god through him, neyther doth he or the father accept anie other sacryfyce, worshipp or worshippers, whatsoeuer men do deeme or ymagine.

Eph.4 . 8.

1 Peter. 2. 5.

Article .13.—Item. to reade any but the Canonycall scripture is Sacrilegious

Answer.—

We ground our faith only vpon the Canonycall scriptures, being assured *that* they were geuen by inspiracion of God, and that they conteyne the whole reuealed will of God, vnto which none may add, and from which none may take away, and therfore also we reade them only when the Church meeteth together for the seruyce of God, and to edifie in our most holy fayth: Yet notwithstanding in our pryvate howses and studyes, we reade and vse any other bookes and helpes which through the blessing of God may further vs vnto the better vnderstanding of this word of God. But yt seemeth our aduersaries would insynuate [?] that [yt] is Lawfull in the Church for the edification thereof to reade the Apocrypha bookes aswell as the Canonycall scryptures. We are not ignorant that this indeed is their practise, yea that they haue published that they leaue some of *the* Canonycall scriptures vnread as lesse edyfying, and which might better be spared meaning the booke of the revelation partycularly, whereof yet the spyryt of God wyttnesseth saying. Blessed is he that readeth and they that heare *the* word of this prophecy, and kepe those things which are written therin.—Let themselues therfore consider how

Pro. 30. 5. 6.

Act. 13. 15.

Book of Common praier in *the* rubrick of reading *the* Scripture.

directly they go against the spiryt and word of God herein. Moreouer let them know that in the Apocrypha bookes there is a Contradiction with the Canonicall scriptures, blasphemy, Magick, errors and lyes, and therfore not lawfull to reade them in *the* publike assemblies of the Church.

a. Iudi. 9. 2 with Gen. 42. 5. Machab. 14. 37. 4i, 42.. with Exod. 20. 13. Esther

Apocr. 12. 5. with Ester Canon. 6. 3. b[?]. Tob. 12. 15. with Reuel. 8. 2. 3. 4. Hebr. 3. 9. 24. C[?]. Tob. 6. 7. 8. d. Ecclesiast. 26. 20. Comp. with Esay. 57. 2. & Reuel. 14. 13. Also in Toby 12. 15 [?]. with Toby. 5. 12. Iudith. 10. 12. & 9. 13.——

Article. 14—Item. they deny the Queen to be supreme head of the Churches of England and Ireland.

Answer.— Hebr. 2. 8./ 1 Cor. 15. 27. Eph. 1 22. & 4. 15. & 5. 23. Coloss. 1. 18./

The word of God teacheth that God hath made all thinges subiect vnder Christes feet and hath appoynted him ouer all thinges to be the head to the Church which is his body, euen the fullnes of him that filleth all in all thinges.

Article .15.—Item they make a question of her Maiesties legitimacy, and therfore they are enemyes to God and Traytors to the Queen. God eyther conuert them or cutt them of Amen.—

Answer.— Ioh. 8. 44.

We pray the readers not to be offended, yf in grief of our soules we be constreined to say to our aduersaries as yt is wrytten. Ye are of your father *the* deuyll who was a lyar and murtherer from the beginning. God is wittnes, that we gladly acknowledge her Maiestie to be our Lawfull and Soueraigne Prince by right descent from the vndoubted right kinges of theis realmes her royall Progenitors, which the king of kinges from heauen hath also sealed and assured by his most wonderfull and mightie delyverances of her Maiestie from so many trayterous conspyracyes and wicked purposes entended against her both by forreine and home enemies, so as we may iustly say. The Queene shall reioyce in thy saluation thy hand shall find out all thine and her enemyes. Thou shalt make them as a fyery oven in tyme of thine anger, the Lord shall destroy them in his wrath and *the* fire shall deuoure them.—

Psal. 21. 1. 8. 9.

And for our Enemies who drew and spread these false & slanderous artycles against vs, we must needes say, that they

could neuer come from a hart and mind loyall to her Maiestie. We pray God that her Maiestie and Counsell may more and more discerne betwene such false dissembling hypocrytes and her true and faithfull Subiectes, And we pray God be mercyfull to our Aduersaries, forgeving their synnes in Ihesus Christ to whom be praise for euer. Amen.—

[John Penry's Confession of Faith and Apology prepared not long before his death in 1593.][1]

I Iohn Penry do here (as I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day of iudgment) sett downe summaryly, the whole truth and nothing but the truth of all that I hold and professe at this hower eyther in regard of my fayth towardes the Lord my God, or touching my allegiance to her right Excellent Maiestie my most gracyous and deare Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom only of all the Potentates in the world I owe all duty, reuerence and submyssion in the Lord

First, because my allegeance vnto her Maiestie is chiefly called in question, I protest I am not at this day, nor yet euer was in all my life eyther guilty or privy vnto any purpose, consultacion, or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of her Maiesties royall State and peaceable gouernment and yf I were privy to any such godlesse, wicked, and vndutyfull accions or purposes, as might any way impayre or disquyet the peaceable State of my natiue Prince and Cuntry, I would reueale, disclose and withstand the same to the vttermost of my power in all persons forraigne and domesticall of what profession or Religion so euer they were.

Her supreme authorytie within her Realmes and Dominions I acknowledge to be such ouer all persons in all causes, as no person eyther Civile or ecclesiasticall may exempt himselfe or his cause, from the power & censure of her lawes and word.

I do also acknowledg, That her Maiestie hath full authorytie from the Lord by her royall power to establish and enact all

[1] Add. MS. c. 303 (fol. 204–207 verso) in the Bodleian Library.

Lawes both ecclesiasticall and Civile amongst her Subiectes, In the enacting whereof the Lord requireth, that her ecclesiasticall be warranted by her wrytten word, which expressly conteyneth fully whatsoeuer belongeth to the true worshipp of his Maiestie: Her Civile be grounded vpon the rules of Common equyty and Iustyce, the which bondes are so farr from weakening the authorytie of kinges and Princes, as they are the only inexpugnable walles thereof.

This Soueraigne authorytie and prerogatiue of her highnes, I am most most [*sic*] willingly readie to defend against all the States, persons & cretures vnder heauen to the losse of my life. 1000 tymes yf yt be needfull.

And I take the Lord to record, that that daye hath not passed ouer my head (doth not I am sure) synce the first tyme that the Lord vnder her gracyous raigne brought me vnto the knowledge of his Ghospell, wherin I haue not and do not pray for the blessing of my God both inwardly and outwardly to be powred with a full horne vpon her right excellent Maiestie, her throne, regiment and dominions euen for ever, and that he would eyther conuert or speedyly ouerthrow in his wrath all his & her enemyes with their enterpryses whether they be home or forrayne. Hereof I call the searcher of the hartes as a wyttnes of truth against myne owne soule, yf eyther I dissemble or feigne in the premisses.

Secondly touching my faith, I do beleue with my hart and confesse with my mouth, that there is no God but that true God only, which the holy wrytten word doth shew to be one in substance and three in person, the Father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost, three distinct persons of one and the selfe same Deitie. This most hye God, who also is my God in Ihesus Christ, I beleue to be the Creator, preseruer, maynteyner, Soueraigne Lord and supreme commaunder of all creatures in heauen and earth, of men and Angelles, good and bad [.] I do beleue that nothing doth or can come to passe eyther in heauen or earth but by the forebounded and determinate will, purpose, Counsell and direction yea without the most wyse and most vpright commaundment of this euerlasting and true God who worketh all thinges after the Counsell of his owne will.

All men by nature I beleue to be the Children of wrath and saued only by grace through the sufferinges and righteousnes of Christ Ihesus apprehended by a true and lyvely faith.

Christ Ihesus in regard of his natures I beleue to be God and man, euen God aboue all blessed for euermore, and in respect of his offyce, to be the only king, Priest and Prophet of his Church, the which his offyces he so fully accomplished in the daies of his flesh, by the manifesting the whole will of his father through his preaching and teaching the full redemption of his Church by his death & resurrection and the receyuing of full and absolute power in heauen and earth from his father in such sort, as he is not to receyue a successor in any of these his offyces, but is consecrated alone to them all for euermore

True Fayth I beleue to be that persuasion of the hart, wherby the soule is truly assured of remission of synnes, and imputation of righteousnes through Christ[.] This true Fayth, belongeth only to Gods elect, and hath perseuerance vnto the end ioyned with yt: with this true Faith also is vnseparably ioyned (as the fruytes thereof) a dying vnto synne, and a lyuing vnto righteousnes in such sort as the members of Christ haue a contynuall battaile within them against synne, the which by the power of Christes death is so wounded, as the same in some measure decayeth more and more in them vntill at the length yt be vtterlie consumed, when the bodies and soules are separated and not before.

By the quyckening power of Christ, I do beleue, that his members here vpon earth are drawen more and more to like of his blessed will, and to practize the same yea to giue their lyves rather then to dishonor their God in the voluntarie and willing denyall of his truth, and the breach of his law and will reuealed to them[.] His reuealed will, I beleue to be perfectly conteyned in the wrytten word of the old and new Testament geuen by the holy Ghost for the instruccion and comfort of his poor Church, so long as the same is a Pilgrim here vppon earth.

This Church, I beleue to be the Companie of those whom the word calleth Saintes which do not onlie professe in word that they know God, but also are subiect vnto him, vnto his lawes and ordinances indeed: With this Church, I do beleue that the

Lord God of his meer fauor hath entred into Couenant that he wilbe their God and that they shalbe his people. The seales of this Couenant are two only—Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord.

This Church here vpon earth I do beleue not to be perfect, (although in regard of *the* order w*hi*ch the Lord hath appointed for the same yt be most absolute) but to haue many blemishes and want*es* in yt, yet assuredly that all *the* true members thereof shall at *the* day of iudgment receyue their perfect consum*m*ation by Ihesus Christ, and be crowned in him with eternall glory, of his meer grace and not of any meryt of theirs.

Of w*hi*ch blessed, free, and vndeserued reward, I professe my selfe to rest in most vndoubted and gloryous hope through the mercyes of my God, and therfore I am most willingly content to vndergoe any trobles in this life for his names sake, who be gloryfyed of me both in soule and body, and of all his Saint*es* for euermore Amen

I detest all heresies, sect*es* and schysmes and errors whether new or old, by whomsoeuer they haue bene inuented. as Puritanisme, Donatisme, Anabaptisme, Libertinisme Brownisme, all the dreames and dotages of the famylie of loue, but especyally all Popery, that most dreadfull Religion of Antichrist, *the* great enemye of the Lord Ihesus, and the most pestilent aduersary of the thrones of king*es* & Princes[.] So that I abhorre from my sowle, that whole body and euery part of *that* Romish religion, called the sonne of perdition by the spiryt of God, because *the* Lord hath determyned to consume yt by his appearing in the brightnes of his Ghospell before his second coming.

I detest that prowd superiorytie of that man of synne, wherby (as the Apostle forespake) he either exalteth himselfe in his members and their power to beare rule and raigne ouer the truth and members of Christ, euen ouer all that is called holy, or opposeth himselfe as a most bloody aduersary against all those truthes and seruant*es* of the Lord, w*hi*ch will not suffer him with his said infernall power to raigne ouer them in stead of Ihesus Christ in his blessed ordynanc*es*

I detest in regard of their offyces (I speake not of the mens persons touching *the* Lordes election) the head of that body the Pope, his cursed triple Crowne, his vsurped iurisdiction of eyther of both swordes [*sic*]

I detest the rest of *the* Lymmes of that body and their spyrytuall power, as Cardinall*es* ArchBishopps Lord Bishopps, Suffraganes, Abbott*es*, Pryors Deanes, Archdeacons, Com*m*ysaryes, Chancellors, Offycial*les*, Monkes, Fryars, Chanons, Prebbendes, Priestes, Deacons, I detest the invented maner of calling wherby they are placed in their cursed offyces, their devysed workes wherein they are employed by reason of their offyces, as the false doctrine and false worshipp of that kingdome, with the lyving and mayntenance wherby they are mainteyned in their offyces.

And forasmuch as the members of Christ must haue no Com*m*union of or with any of these cursed inventions, insomuch as they can haue no lawfull vse or spirytuall communyon of or with any of these offyces, calling*es*, workes, and maintenance, because they cannot lawfully be subiect vnto any part of the ecclesiasticall power of these offyces, Therfore yt is, that I dare not participate in those assemblies or with anie of these offycers bere rule ecclesiastically, and intermeddle with the holie thinges of God wherein any of these devised calling*es* (and none els) workes and maintenance are to be found: For I am forbidden to haue any Communyon with those vnfruytfull workes of darkenes, though yt be vpon pretence of enioying the truth and Sacrament*es* of Christ, vpon paine of everlasting torment*es* daye and night for euermore.

And yf I may not be subiect to the Ceremonies of Moses, as Circum*c*ysion &c w*h*ich were sometymes the Lords owne sacred ordinances, how dare I or any other creature be in bondage to those inuentions of Antichrist the great enemy of o*u*r Lord Ihesus whereof *the* Saint*es* of God neither can neither yet euer could haue any sanctified vse.

The truth of the doctrine touching the holy Trinitie, touching the natures and offyces of o*u*r Sauyor, Iustyfying fayth, Sacrament*es*, eternall life &c. established by her Ma*iesties* Lawes, and professed by her selfe, their Honors, and such as haue knowledge

in the assemblies of this Land, I acknowledge from my hart to be such, as yf I mainteyned not the vnitie and held not the Communyon of *the* same doctrine with them in these point*es*, I could not possibly be saued. For out of the vnion of the true profession w*hi*ch her Ma*iesti*e hath established in these and in the like truthes there is no hope of saluation left: But to ioyne notwithstanding with the publike worshipp in these assemblies of this Land I dare not for the former reasons.

I do moreouer willinglie confesse, that many both of *the* teachers and also of the professors in these Parish assemblies, haue so embraced the truth of doctrine established and professed in this land, as the Lord of his infinite goodnes hath graunted them *the* fauor to shew outwardly many tokens, wherby in regard of the Lordes election, I professe before men and Angell*es* that I doe iudge them to be members of that bodie, whereof the sonne of God Christ Ihesus is the head, only herein the lord be mercyfull to them as vnto my selfe in regard of my synnes, that they are not vnder that outward order w*hi*ch Christ Ihesus left in his Church, but instead thereof are first subiect vnto many of *the* forenamed offyces, Secondlie, haue Com*m*union with their false manner of calling vnto their offyces, Thirdly partycipate with a great part of their devysed workes where offycers are employed, Fourthly with the false maintenance and lyving*es* sometyme, consecrated to Idolatrie for the most part, wherby these offycers are mainteined, Fiftly, are mingled with the knowen prophane, ignorant, and disordered persons, w*hi*ch are ioynt members with them of these assemblies.

This is the Som*m*e of my faith and allegeance vnto my God and Prince. Here is the Som*m*e of that whole difference that is betwene me and the Clergy of this Land, and the som*m*e of that whole cause for the w*hi*ch I and dyvers other of my poore brethren are iudged to be Schysmatik*es*, Felons, Heretick*es* &c. If this may come vnto the royall handes of my Soueraigne and to the view of their honors, I doubt not by the mercyes of my God, but her Ma*iesties* hart and their L*ordshi*ps wilbe soone induced, that neither I, nor any that hold not the same profession with the aforenamed offycers of assemblies in this

land, do deserue the shortening of our dayes by her Maiesties sword for these thinges.

And there is all that euer we hold: For as touching that error concerning the not repeating of the Lordes prayer wherwith we are charged, Far be yt, euen farr be yt that we should deny the same or any the like scriptures, to be an holy fourme of prayer, conteyning not only an exquisyte patterne of doctrine, according to which all our prayers are to be squared, but also a fourme of petition request and wordes, which a Christian soule may vtter not only lawfully, but also with great comfort: The vse for which yt was geuen, we hold indeed to be rather for doctrine then for praier, the abuse in the often repetition thereof we condemne, and this I am sure was the iudgment in this point of those holy seruantes of Christ [i.e., Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood], who now rest from their labors.

The good which this land getteth outwardly, by these false offyces aforenamed and the lyuinges belonging to them, is, That the trayterous Iesuytes and semynary Priestes are drawen by the hope they haue of possessing this this [*sic*] Babylonish gold, to become the vnnaturall betrayers of their Naturall Prince and Cuntrie into the handes of strangers, whereas yf these offyces and livinges were by publike authorytie once remoued and conuerted to her Maiesties Civile vses, the Pope would haue no occasyon to send ouer these Locustes, there would be no baytes to allure them hether, and the home Papistes would be vtterlie voyd of hope to see their expected daye. So that the mainteyning of those offyces and lyvinges, and their devised workes and callinges which would fall with them, is ioyned with that contynuall danger of her Maiesties Royall person and the whole State of the land. I do but point at the inconuenyence which in Conscyence towardes her Maiestie and my Cuntry, I am bound to showe, they that are wise will thinke of the cause with seryousnes, and will not (I hope) thinke me worthie to be smytten for shewing the danger.

Whatsoeuer I hold of these pointes controuerted, I hold the same of meer conscyence towardes my God, and of that meer detestation which in Conscyence I am bound to haue of all the

inventions of man and Angell in Religion, and of that care in conscience I ought to haue of *the* saluation and safegard of her Ma*iest*ie (whom the Lord preserue for euermore) and of my Cuntrye.

I haue for my warrant in all these thinges not only the wrytten word, which is suffycyent, but also in these causes of greatest moment, the doctrine of the Church of England, established by her Ma*iesties* authorytie, and confirmed by the Wrytinge*s* Testimonies and blood of these famous seruante*s* and Martyrs of Christ. viz m$^{r}$. Wickliff M$^{r}$ Brute, m$^{r}$ Aston, m$^{r}$. Purvey, m$^{r}$. Whyte, m$^{r}$ Thorp &c. with many other the holy wittnesses of the Lord in former tymes as m$^{r}$ Tyndall, m$^{r}$ Lambert m$^{r}$ Barnes, m$^{r}$ Latymer, m$^{r}$ Ball, and the famous seruantes of God in this latter age together with the vnitie and consent of the refourmed Churches at this day in the point*es* (I saye) of specyall weight.

My soule is so resolued by the power of God in all of them as I am readie to yield my lyfe by the aide of my God for the truth of this my testymonie and *the* testimony of the forenamed servantes of God, and holy martyrs and Churches of Christ. Yet yf any man can shew by the wrytten word of God that I erre in any thing, I will most willingly refourme my iudgm*ent*, craue pardon earnestly for my oversight yea and be most willingly content to suffer due punishm*ent* for my temerytie.

But yf on the other syde I testifie nothing but verytie in these poynt*es* as I am vndoubtedly persuaded, I humbly craue that the piercing edge of that sword may not in heate be turned against me and my brethren, w*hi*ch was neuer pr*o*ffessedly violent against the open and sworne enemyes of *our* natiue Prince and Cuntrye.

Death (I thanke God) I feare not in this cause especyally, for I know *that the* sting of death is taken away, and *that* they are blessed that dye in the Lord for wyttnessing against anie of the former corruptions. Reuel. 14. 9. 13. Life I desire not, yf I be giltie of sedition, of defaming and disturbing the quiet state of her Ma*iesties* peaceable gouernm*ent*

Lastly, I humbly and earnestly beseech their honors and wors*hi*pps into whose handes this wryting of myne may come,

to Consider, that it is to no purpose *that* her Ma*iesties* subiect*es* should bestowe their tyme in learning, in *the* study and medytation of *the* word, in reading the wrytinge*s* and doinge*s* of learned men and of the holy Martyrs *that* haue bene in former ages, especyally the wrytinge*s* published by her Ma*iesties* authorytie, yf they may not without danger professe & hold those truthes w*hich* they learne out of them, and that in such sort, as they are able to convince all the world that will stand against them, by no other weapons then by the word of God. I beseech them also to consider, what a lamentable case yt is, that we may hold fellowshipp with the Romish Church in th'inventions thereof without all danger, and cannot but with extreme perill be permytted in Iudgm*ent* and practize to dissent from the same where yt swarueth from the trew way: And as they find these consideracions to be of specyall moment, so I beseech them in the bowelle*s* of Ihesus Christ to be a meanes vnto her Ma*iestie* and their honors that my cause may be weyed in euen balance. Imprysonm*ent*, yndytem*entes* arraignm*entes* yea death yt selfe, are no meet weapons to convince the conscyence grounded vpon the word of the Lord, accompanied with so many testimonies of his famous seruantes and Churches.

The Lord blesse her right excellent Ma*iestie* my most gracyous Soueraigne blesse theyr honors, this whole land, and all his Saint*es* euen for his names sake. Amen. Amen.

Subscribed with heart and hand by me I. P. now in streight & hard bondes for the afore recyted testimony of Christes truth.

Iohn. Penry.

Apology eiusdem.

Although yt were altogether most reasonable, that these my poore, publike, deliberate and digested wrytinges should bind vp and heale that wound w*hich* my most secrete vnbalanced and confused observations are iudged to make, yet I craue not so much that equytie in this case, wherein my allegeance and dutyfullnes towardes my most gracyous Prince is called in question, as chiefly this I desyre, that what in the Conscyence of her right excellent Ma*iestie*, and of all those both honorable

and worshipfull into whose handes I entreat that these my wrytinges may come shalbe thought most likely to agree with truth may be determined touching my case, and that accordingly I may be acquyted or condemned of the guylt layd to my chardge, as for the penalty thereof, I will not refuse to susteine the same yf yt shall seem good to her highnes to inflict yt vpon me whether yt be the vndeserued mulct of myne ynnocency, or the iust demeryt of my guiltynes, that I referre vnto *the* Lordes determynac*i*on and her gracyous Ma*ie*stie whom he hath placed over me: Myne ynnocency only heerby I desyre to be manyfested without any further regard, that whether I lyue or dye my vprightnes towardes my Prince and her State may survyue. Whatsoeuer then in those my pryvate intercepted wrytinges, (being the secret & confused obseruations of myne owne study) touching her Ma*ie*stie is mencyned [*sic*], the same I protest was sett downe by me, eyther as obiected indeed by others, whereof I thought to haue Considered further, yf at all, yt should be done for her Ma*ie*sties cleering where occasyon should be offered, or as being groundes of a brief treatize, w*hi*ch w*i*th myne owne handes (yf euer the Lord should graunt meanes and opportunytie therevnto) I purposed to haue delyuered vnto her highnes for the manyfesting of my fayth and allegeance towardes the Lord and her Ma*ie*stie wherein (as in a pryvate advertisement) euen for the dischardge of my Conscyence, I meant to haue offered to her Consideraci*o*n. viz. Whether many thing*e*s besides her knowledge were not done vnder gouernm*e*nt to the hindrance of the free course of the Ghospell for the w*hi*ch she standeth blamed amongst forrayn nations and yt may be wold be further charged amongst their posterytie

These my wrytinges also are not only most vnperfect, but euen so pryvate as no creature vnder heauen was privy vnto them (my selfe excepted) vntill now they were seised vpon, and therefore yt wilbe the great fault of those into whose handes they are come, and not any vndutyfullnes of myne yf they be made more publike then they are. Myne I dare not acknowledge them to be for a thousand worldes, because I should therby most fearfully synne against *the* Lord and myne owne Conscyence, in bearing false wyttnes against my selfe. I neuer conceyued

that anie man would haue made any thing of them, especyally against my selfe, by whomsoeuer they had bene interpreted, otherwise yt might be well thought that I would neuer haue reserued them being to my so small vse, as all men will iudge them to be. Now for the cleering of my selfe towardes her Maiestie, and of the purpose I had to referr my selfe into her Maiesties handes, yt shalbe found in those my intercepted writinges, how earnestly I haue entreated the Lord, and often (especyally toward the tyme of my coming out of Scotland) to graunt me fauor in her sight, and to enclyne her hart vnto my petition, which was only *that* yt would please her so to conceyve of me as I was in hart towardes her, and to permytt me to employ my small talent amongst my poore Cuntrymen in Wales, for their calling to the knowledge of Christ [.] Their ignorance I know (alas) to be ouer-lamentable. It will also appeer in my said wrytinges, that report coming into Scotland of her Maiesties departure out of this life, I humbled my selfe when I heard yt in fasting and prayer before the Lord, entreating him euen with many teares, that the same report might proue vntrue, as I thanke his Maiestie yt did, shewing what a great stroke (in my Conscyence) the taking her out of this life would be vnto the Church of God, at this day especyally, and vnto her kingdome, my deare and natiue Cuntrye. How heavy the newes were vnto me in partycular, those my wrytinges do partly testify, my Conscyence knoweth, and the Lord God I am sure will reveale vnto my clearing in that great daye. This was long synce I had occasyon to sett downe all the thinges wherwith I am like to be so heavyly chardged. No Creature was privy to this accion of myne vntill my wrytinges were now intercepted, neyther did I purpose to haue revealed the same. Now that my secret, confused and vnadvysed observations are brought against me euen to the spilling of my blood, I humbly beseech that these my papers also may be looked vppon and brought to light aswell as the other, wherby myne adversaryes thinke to ympeach my allegeance which (I thanke God) neither man nor Angell shall euer be able to effect. This was done in Ianuary or Febr was Twellvemoneth—1592—. It wilbe easily found out in those papers of myne,

*which* conteyne a diarie or daily obseruac*i*on of myne owne synnes and corruptions, and of the specyall requestes *which* I made to the Lord, being thinges of *that* secrecye as I know well all the world would thinke yt shamefull that they should be laid to my charge: yet I thanke the Lord I refuse not to be tryed by them. Touching the partycular thinges that concerne her Ma*iesty* in those my papers, I had great occasyon in the tyme of my contynuance and being in Scotland to take notyce of them, for the purpose before mencyoned, and surely most of them are expressed in the very same or the like wordes wherein they were obiected to me, euen by those whom I iudge to wish well to her Ma*iestie* and gouernm*ent*. For the gentlemen, ministers and people of Scotland, that are not acquainted with the State of this Land thinke by reason of the Prelacy here mainteyned, (the yoake whereof they fell within these few yeares), by reason of the multytude of dumbe ministers that were tolerated and dayly made in this land, and because they heare that preachers are suspended, sylenced, ymprysoned and depryued thinke (I say) and haue spoken yt vnto me, that lyttle or no truth is permytted to be taught in England, that *which* is taught, ys measured by the length of her Ma*iesties* Scepter, and that the Common wealth indeed is much but the Ghospell lyttle behoulding vnto her. Whereunto I answered that the Ghospell (in my Conscyence) was asmuch behoulding to her Ma*iestie* as to all the Princes in Europe besides. They haue replyed then that Princes dissemble then, for none of them that appeare to defend *the* Ghospell do suffer the ministers and professors thereof to be sylenced and ymprysoned for their Conscyence sake and for mainteyning the truth *which* reformed Churches do generally embrace, wherevnto as I haue allwayes suffycyentlie answered (I thank the Lord) in her Ma*iesties* behalfe, so haue I sett downe confusedly the tenor of my speeches in those my wrytinges, that so I might vpon better leysure consyder of them, and make some vse for the discharge of my Conscyence as before I haue sett downe. Hereof also I haue had specyall occasyon vpon pryvate conferences had with the ministers of the Cuntrye wherein I haue otherwyse informed them of the state of thinges here then they were generally certyfyed by the

marchantes or such other as travayled thether, in such sort, as I being invited with some of them by a godly gent*leman* of that Cuntry, then told him, that yt was not without great reason (seing he had so often speech with me) that he being in such a noble mans Chamber, where her M*aiesties* picture was sett belowe the pictures of divers other kinges and Princes, he tooke the same and placed yt aboue them all, for he thought her to be no less worthy, yf the speeches w*hi*ch I gaue of her highnes were trew. The gentleman answered that he was glad to learne that of me who as he iudged would not report otherwyse then truth, w*hi*ch he allwayes conceyved of her. viz. That the Euangely of Christ was mickle deale bound (for those were his wordes) vnto the Q*uee*ne of England, as vnto all *the* Princes on this syde of the Alpes the w*hi*ch he durst the more boldly avouch vppon the credyt of my report[.] These and such like (I say) haue bene the occasyon of whatsoeuer in my pryvate wrytinges seemeth to make most against me: and I could name Englishmen who (yf they would speake yndifferently) must testyfy, that they haue heard no lesse obiected of others, and no less answered by me then I haue here sett downe, as convenyence of tyme and place hath bene ministred: yea when myne owne case, or the case of any oth*er* (who professing the Ghospell are iudged to be hardly dealt with vnder her M*aiesties* gouernm*ent*) hath bene alleadged, I haue answered. Vt parentum sic patriæ & principis seueritatem patiendo & ferendo semind*am* esse. The which saying, as also some other of Marc*us* Tull*ius* vnto Lentulus as I remember shalbe found noted in those my wrytinges to this very purpose. Whereby yt may appeare that what now I wryte hath some credence in yt though those my obseruations be most confused, such as out of which no man (my selfe excepted) can possibly gather my purpose. I haue not looked vpon most of those my wrytinges these—14—or—15—moneths, whereby consydering how they are sett downe, I might also well forgett *the* purpose for the w*hi*ch they were wrytten: yet I will not desyre to be accounted (as I thanke God I am) a Loyall subiect to my Prince, yf I shew not any speech conteyned in them touching her M*aiesty* to haue reason vppon the former occasyons, and to

haue bene noted for the purposes I spake of, namely, eyther the advertysing or further cleering of her Maiestie as the Lord would offer occasyon, the which latter purpose of myne, is also cleered, in a treatyse which I published now toward 2 yeares synce wherein, wryting vnto the Parliament, I shewed that the Papistes, either Brystow or Saunders yf my memory faile not, had geuen out that her Maiestie regarded not the Ghospell any further then yt may be for her standing, and therfore desyred the Parliament that they would withstand that slaunder, by provyding that the people of Wales may be better taught, saying that whatsoeuer the Parliament should do, I did gainsaye the same, as being a speech vndutifull and slanderous against my Prince, as lowd as ynke and paper could do yt. These are my wordes, and as I shall answer before the Lord my God, I had no other then this dutyfull meaning in setting downe whatsoeuer is now so heynously interpreted in those my wrytinges. Briefly the most reuerend and dutyfull regard which I haue caryed towardes her Maiestie in my publike wrytinges whensoeuer I haue mecyoned her or her gouernment, the tenor of my life that way, together with the testimonie of all those which haue knowen me and my wrytinges especyally of such of my cuntrymen as know me in Scotland, will clear me of whatsoeuer may touch me in loyaltie towardes my Soueraigne. And I do here, (in this last wryting which is like to proceed from me for ought I know) protest before all the world, that although I regarded neither the feare of God nor man, nor the testimony of a good conscyence, yet the respect which I haue and allwayes had that my native Cuntry Wales should not cary the blemish, that euer it brought forth (for my part) any that would defame or deale vndutyfully with so gracyous a Prince as her Maiestie is, and hath bene allwayes vnto vs, should and would kepe me from all vndutyfull attemptes against her highnes. Nay (I thanke God) I haue all reasons that do and allwayes haue stirred me vp to all dutyfullnes towardes my Prince but neuer any that moued me so much as in a secret wandring thought vnto any such disloyall cogitation of her Maiestie. Lastly those my intercepted wrytinges which are now brought against me, conteyning in them not only a peculiar record of my dayly

Corruptions, for and against *which* I craued mercy and strength at the Lordes hand, but also of all the specyall synnes whereof my conscyence could accuse me in all my lyfe, euen to the last daie of my coming out of Scottland yt will easyly appeare, whether my soule was euer privy to any offence com*m*ytted by me against her Ma*iesti*e, saue only this whereof I there complayne namely that I was not so carefull in prayer for her perseuerance and wellfare, as I desyred and laboured to haue bene[.] And yet (I thanke the Lord) I remember not that day hath passed ouer my head, synce vnder her gouernm*ent* I first came to *the* knowledge of *the* truth, wherein I haue not recom*m*ended her estate vnto his Ma*iesti*e[.] I deale in those my most secreat wrytin*ges* *with*out guile, as in his sight whom I know to be the revealer of secrett*es*, at whose hand I craued the healing of my brused Conscyence, wherfore yt concerned me not to collude *with* him though I would do the same *with* man, such dealing might well augment the intollerable burthen of my woryed soule, but cure my wound yt could not, and therfore I may truly say If euer I had bene gilty of any such cryme there yt should haue bene sett downe, euen when I powred the secret*es* of my hart before *the* mercy seat of the euerlyving, and the rather in such a case of confession vnto the Lord of my secret synnes neuer expressed in action, wherof also I was most sory *that* any such should be brought against me. But in this point of my Loyaltie towardes my Prince, I feare not (I thanke the Lord) the aduerse testimony of myne owne Conscyence much lesse[1]

[A Letter of John Penry's to Lord Burghley, written May 28, 1593.][2]

Although Right honorable my thoughtes athis present are wholy employed as it is meet, rather vpon y^e^ meditation of that heavenly lyf whervnto of the Lord*es* infinite favor, I ame now to passe, then vpon any earthly consideration whatsoever; yet

[1] Here with the last two words as catch-words the manuscript at present abruptly ends.

[2] Egerton MS. 2603, fol. 49, in the British Museum.

to the end *your* Lord*ship* may see, that I have in in [*sic*] no wise slightly regarded *your* last speach vsed vnto mee; I do heer most humblie crave entreat the vse of penn and inke, y^t^ I may writ vnto hir ma*jes*tie my most gracious soveraing, to see yf the Lord will therby encline hir roiall heart to hould forth vnto mee, the compassionate hand of hir wonted clemency towards*es* hir distressed Subject*es* in my case.

For *your* Lord*ship* [?] I beseech you, to beare patiently these few lines following w*hi*ch in the discharge of my conscienc, I write vnto you; & for no other respect. I do confess then & *your* [?] Lord[ship] lay it not vnto my charge, that I betrayed myne owne innocency at y^e^ barr, because I did not lay open, the clearnes of my case, as in lawe it is well knowen [?] to bee. Lett mee speak without prejudice vnto any. I will not say much vnto *your* Lordship this way. Only this, I should have beene indighted of those thinges within one yeer after I writ them. I should have been convinced [?] to have written them with a maliciouse intent, to diffame hir ma*jes*tie, or to stirr insurrection [among hir subject*es*][1] from w*hi*ch purposes, how farr I [?] have been allwayes, I refer it vnto y^e^ voyc of y^e^ whole world, even vnto the consciences of adverseryes them selves yf I haue any. Yf I weare a papist [fallen away & to err from y^e^ true Christ] as farrbeit I might writ in the defenc, of y^e^ sixt article, & labor to draw hir ma*jes*ties subjects to bee of my wicked [?] mynd, & yet shal be in no wise thogh[t] nor adjudged [?] a felone by y^t^ stat*ute* of .23. Eliz. I may publish & vtter Bellarmyns readinges Sanders Demonstration. &c w*hi*ch directly mak hir ma*jes*tie & y^e^ whole state to be & yet bee in no wise within y^e^ daunger of y^e^ sayd statute. These book*es* & such lyk any [?] other [?] are comonly sold by all stationers. And therfor my Lord, I beseech *your* wysdome in the mercyes [?] bowelles of Iesus Christ, whose truth you profess, to consider what a lamentable case it is, y^t^ the playn [?] error in the missvnderstanding of y^e^ law should bee written with my blood.

Touching these my confused, & most secrete indeavors [?] writting*es* [I] refer you vnto y^t^ w*hi*ch els where I hav written to this..., as *your* Lordship knoweth [?] I am sure. And how

[1] Words within dark brackets are in the margin of the MS.

farr I ame from any such thoughtes of hir majestie, I shall declare, yf you will grant [?] mee the vse of ink & paper.

That I spak not at y^e^ barr what in law might have cleared my case, it was partly in that y^e^ Iury wear sent away. befo^r^ I cold have tyme so to doe, but especially in that I was content in this case, rather to comitt myne innocency vnto him, y^t^ judgeth righteously, & to referr my self vnto hir majesties handes, then any wyse to contend with your Lordshipes their present, whome I saw to bee playnly overseen in the mysvndersta[n]ding of that statute. 1. Pet. 2. 23.

But my Lord, I beseech you lett mee appeale vnto your second considiration as this way, & have y^e^ favor thereof, for the defenc of my lyf: And I dare assure your Lordship, y^t^ it shall not repent you, eyther in this, or the lyf to come, you have beene the meanes of my preservation frome vntymly [?] death. wherwith, as I thank god I ame well content because I know whether to goe after this lyf; of this erthly breath becaus becaus [*sic*] it is y^e^ Lord [who gave it.] not you, where [?] now have yo^u^ use therof it beseemeth mee in no wise to bee over profuse. And therfor agayn, I beseech your Lordship, y^t^ I may not only reaceave the same at Queen Elyzabeth my soverainges handes, but also be indebted vnto Sir Iohn Popame hir highnes Supreme Iustice for the reposs thereof. And my Lord you shall fynd, that the continuance of my lyf (which I thank god for my self I respect not becaus I ame assured, y^t^ a better is prepared for me) wilbee farr more beheefull [?] for the apeasing & quiet taking vp, of the differences in relligion between mee & y^e^ Ecclesiasticall estate of this land then. my death in the said tymes possiblie can bee.

What my purposes are, yf I shold live y^t^ way, what maner of disposition I am off even in heart, I canot hide it yf I wold, for my...privat writinges, which wholy shew, the very lineaments of my soule, & y^e^ very vnreveled [?] secrett intentes of my heart are in ther handes, with whose judgmentes &...in this lyf I canot wholly accord.

You ar not to bee putt in mynd, y^t^ as y^e^ cry of y^e^ widow & y^e^ fatherless, peerceth deeply into y^e^ eares of y^e^ just judge, so y^e^ blessing [?], of y^e^ distressed & y^e^ orphan especially of him that is Exodus 22. 22 23. 24. Deut 24. 13.

ready to perish, is much avaylable befor god & man, vnto them, y^t^ deserve the same therefor good my Lord cloth yo*u*r self therewith as with a robe, the garment, wherwith yo^u^ are
Iob. 29. 12. 13. adorned, That with y^t^ great [?]...wholy man [?] Iob yo^u^ may say. I deliu*e*red y^e^ poor, y^t^ cryed, & y^e^ fatherless & him, y^t^ hade none to helpe him. The blessing of him y^t^ was ready to perish came vpon mee & I caused y^e^ widowes heart to rejoyc. I was a father vnto y^e^ poor & when I knew not y^e^ cause (or had mistaken it), I sought it out y^e^ more dilligently

And[1] shall fynd in the mercyes of god y^t^ veryfyed of you, w*h*ich
verse 18. followeth in the same place of holy story openly [?] y^t^ you shall
.19. dy in yo*u*r nest & multiply yo*u*r dayes as the sand [y^t^ y[o*u*r ?] root] shalbe spread out by y^e^ waters & y^e^ dew vpon yo*u*r
20 branch, y^t^ yo*u*r honor shalbe renued [?] towards yo^u^ & yo*u*r
21 bow continue [?] firme in yo*u*r hand, y^t^ vnto you men shall
22. still [?] give eare & hold their tong at yo*u*r counsell, & y^t^ yo^u^
25. shall appoynt al their way & continue [?] still to sitt as cheife, & be truly accounted lyk him, y^t^ comforteth y^e^ mourners. Thus preparing my self vnto y^e^ tribunall of y^e^ Supream judg, I humblie referr my...estate vnto yo*u*r Lords*hi*pes due consideration, & yo*u*r self with all yo*u*rs into his hand*es*, whoe tryeth y^e^ heartes & y^e^ reines, y^t^ hee may give vnto every man according as his workes shalbee From...& close prison, the 28 of y^e^ 4 month Maij[?] 1593

Yo*u*r Lords*hi*p[es] most

Suppliant

Iohn Penry[2].

[1] At this point about ten words have been crossed out.

[2] The text of this letter took the present writer some hours to decipher, even with the aid of the magnifying-glass and with the help of two of the officials in the British Museum. The handwriting is in places very fine and indistinct, and the ink is much faded. Penry's corrections, also, are by no means as clear as they might be. The present text, therefore, is not perfect, but it is perhaps as good as under the circumstances might be expected.

# VIII

## DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HENRY BARROWE

[An undated Letter of Henry Barrowe's asking for a "christian and peaceable conference" for the settlement of "theis Ecclesiasticall controuersies".][1]

My humble desier is to any that feare god even to my gratest aduersaries in theis Ecclesiasticall controuersies (or I hope) but brotherly differences yf we may come to christian and peaceable conference with some Learned and moderate persons, where the reasons of each syde may be with deliberacion set downe and exponded by the worde of God and so his treuth therin appearinge may be imbraced and we brought to vnitei [*sic*] in the treuth. And theis woundes (w$^{ch}$ now ar made and Lykely to shedd eeven streames of christian bloode may be healed Those faythfull of oure mynde w$^{ch}$ yet remayne and such as god no doubt will rayse vp in this cavse of christes may be revnited yea rather all of vs vnited to Christe oure Head with ioye. And what so euer it shall please god and her excellent maiestei to dispose of oure Lyves, yet we therby beinge brought to the sight of such faultes as we ar chardged to have committed (but yet see not) may then humbly acknowledge the same and suffer such punishment as ar [*sic*] inflicted to the good example of others to the honor of her maiestei and this State. And this as in sight of Christe I vowe by his grace, and dare assure in the behalf of my christian bretheren. Lyke mynded that yo$^{u}$ or any

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 211 recto.

of yo$^{u}$ takinge this christian and brotherly paynes shall recou*er* and Lead vs by every word of God to agree with yo$^{u}$ and be obedient vnto his whole will /

Henry Barrow

[Another undated Letter of Henry Barrowe's, requesting a "peceable disputac*i*on" for the settlement of "sondrie Ecclesiasticall differenc*es*".][1]

My moste humble and submissiue [?] desire vnto yo*ur* wor*ship* was and is, That for so much as, there remaine sondrie Ecclesiasticall differenc*es* of no smale weight betwixt me with sondrie others hir h*ighnes* faithfull subiect*es* now imp*ri*soned for the same, on the one side and this p*re*sent ministerie now by aucthoritie established in this land on the other vndecided, or as yett indiscussed [?], yo*ur* wor*ship* would vouchaffe [*sic*] to be a meanes to hir moost excellent ma*iesti*e, That a Christian and peceable disputac*i*on by the scriptures might be vouchaffed vnto some fewe of vs, with whom or how manie, of *our* adu*ersaries* herein shall in wisedom be thought meete, for the readie & happie deciding or composing the same. Protesting to yo*ur* wor*ship* in the sight of god, at whose finall Iudgeme*n*t, I looke howrelie to stand, that I hould not anie thing in thes differences of anie singularitie or pride of spirit, but as I am hetherto certainlie p*er*swaded, by the vndoubted groundes of godes worde, the profession and practise of other reformed Churches, and learned of other Countreis, wherof if wee hir ma*iesties* said few imp*ri*soned subiect*es*, shall faile to make evident and assured prooffe, and that those learned, shall shew anie other thing by the word of god in the said Christian conferrence desired, That then, I for my parte, vow vnto yo*ur* wor*ship* through godes grace, as also [I] am p*er*swaded, my said imp*ri*soned brethren permitted this conference will doe [?] the like, that I will vtterlie forsake anie erro*ur* I shall be so proved to holde,

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 214.

and in all humble and glad consent to submitt to *our* now discenting adu*er*saries in all those matters wherin now wee differ, if theie shall approve them vnto vs by the word of god. By w*h*ich charitable [?] Acte y*our* wor*ship* maie put end to theise p*re*sent controu*er*sies reduce [?] as wherin wee erre and a peace [*sic*] manie a Christian soule. /

y*our* wor*ships* humble suppliant

henry Barrowe

["Reasons against Publike disputac*i*on with (Henry) barow."]

It is not equall, safe nor fitte
to graunt a disput*acion* to Sectaries[1]

.1. It hath ever been denied by the state to papistes, a secte that had possession of the Church for some hundred yeares before.

.2. To call the ministerie, and co*n*fession of the Church of England into question were to call all other Churches likewise into question against whom also ther exceptions extend.

.3. The Church of England hath submitted her selfe to disputation thrise .1. in K*ing* Ed*wards* tyme, in *Queene* marie in *Queene* Elizabethes.

4. The erroneous opinions of these men have been already co*n*demned by iust treatises of the most famous learned men that have lyved since restitut*i*on of [*sic*] relligion.

.5. It is no reason that relligion, and the controversies therof the same beinge alreadie established by parlament [*sic*] should be examyned now by an inferio*ur* authoritie by way of disputation

.6. It is no reason (that all the Reformed Churches in Europe acknowledginge o*ur* Church of England for a sister) the same should be now brought into question at the will & request of a fewe sectaries.

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 212.

.7. Their principall errours have been already discussed by disputations and writinges in the dayes of S$^{t}$ Augustine, and that by himselfe, &c.

.8. To call the ministerie of England into question is to strengthen y$^{e}$ papistes, and to dishable all the exercises of the mysteries of relligion ever synce the establishment thereof.

9. It hath ever been the manner of Heretiques to require [?] the same by great importunities, and continuall exclamations [?], as Novatus, Arrius,...

.10. It hath already been discussed by bookes written, out of which the truth may better appear, then by a tumultuarie disputation.

.11. They that require disputation of the Ciuill magistrate will not stande to the Iudgement of the Ciuill magistrate

.12. If the Church should satisfie everie sect that riseth [?] there were no ende of disputations.

Mr Barrowes letter written a little before his death.

To the right honorable, &c.[1]

THough it be no new or strange doctrine vnto you, right honorable and excellent Ladie, who have ben so educated & exercised in the faith and fear of God, that the crosse should be joyned to the gospel, tribulation & persecution to the faith & profession of Christ: yet may this seem strange vnto you, & almost incredible, that in a land professing Christ, such crueltie should be offred vnto the servants of Christ for the truth & Gospels sake, & that by the chief Ministers of the church, as they pretend. This no doubt doth make sundrie, otherwise wel affected, to think hardly of vs & of our cause; & specially, fynding vs by their instigation, indicted, arraigned, condemned, & readie to be executed by the secular powers, for moving sedition and disobedience, for diffaming the renowmed [*sic*]

[1] From "AN APOLOGIE | OR DEFENCE | OF SUCH TRUE CHRISTIANS | As are commonly (but vniustly) called | Brownists: | ...", 1604, pp. 89–95.

person & government of our most gracious Soveraigne Qu. Elisabeth & this state. But, right honorable, if our adversaries proceedings, & our suffrings with the true causes therof, might be duly expended by the scriptures; I doubt not but their malice and our innocencie should easily appear to al men: howsoever now they think to cover the one and the other, by adding slander vnto violence.

Your Ladyship readeth, that the holie Prophets who spake in the Name of God, yea our blessed Saviour himself and his Apostles, have suffred like vsage vnder the same pretence of sedition, innovation, rebellion against Cæsar & the state, at the hands & by the means of the chief Ministers of that church, the *P*riests, Scribes, and *P*harisees; men of no lesse account for holines learning and authoritie, then these our adversaries. The faithfull of all ages since, that have witnessed against the malignant synagogue of Antichrist, and stood for the Gospel of Christ; have suffred like vsage, at the hands of the same Prelacie and Clergie that now is in the land, though possessed of other persons: The quarrel stil remayneth betwixt the two opposite kingdomes of *C*hrist and Antichrist; and so long shal endure, as any part of the apostasie and vsurped tyrannie of the man of sin, shal remayne. The apostasie and tyrannie of *2 Thes. 2. 8* Antichrist, as it sprung not at once or in a day, but by degrees wrought from his mysterie to his manifestation & exaltation in his throne: so was he not at once wholly discovered or abolished: but as Christ fro*m* time to time by the beams of his appearing, *Reu. 16.* discovered the iniquitie, so by the power of his word, which can not be made of none effect, doth he abolish the same, & shal not cease this warr, vntil Antichrist with his army, power, & ministerie, be wholly cast out of the church. Assurance & *Rev. 19.* manifest revelation hereof, we have both in general & particular, in that historical prophesie given of Christ vnto his church by Iohn the divine in the book of the Revelation, from the 10. to the 20. chapter: proof & accomplishment hereof, we have hitherto found in the abolishing of al the errors, idolatries, trumperies & forgeries discovered and witnessed against, by the faithfull servants of Christ in former ages. Neither is there cause why we should doubt of the like sequel & event in

the present & future times; seing the enormities remayning, are no lesse hateful to God, & contrarie to the kingdome of Christ: and God that condemneth them is a strong Lord to execute his will, which no opposition or tyrannie of his adversaries, shalbe able to hinder or resist.

Rev. 18. 8

Whiles then we be in the mercies of God, holding the most holy & glorious cause of *C*hrist against them, that hee might reigne in his Church by such Officers and lawes as he hath prescribed in his testament; we fear not our adversaries in any thing, knowing that their malice & opposition herein, is made to them a token of perdition, and to vs of salvation, and that of God. For this cause we are bold, both to stand for the holy Ministerie government & ordinances of *C*hrist prescribed in his word; and also to withstand and witnesse against this antichristian hierarchie of the Prelacie and Clergie of this land, in their Ministerie, ministration, government, *C*ourts, Officers, *C*anons, &c. which I by writing, have shewed to have no ground or warrant in Gods word; not to be given, or to belong vnto the church of Christ, but to be invented by man; the very same that the Pope stil vseth, and erewhile vsed & left in this land. The like, others of vs more learned, have offred and do stil offer vpon the dispence of our lives to prove by the expresse word of God, in any Christian & peaceable conference, against any whosoever, that wil there stand for the defence of the same.

Philip. 1. 28. *29.*
2 Thes. *1.*

The Prelats, seing the axe thus layd to the roots of the tree of their pomp, not able to approve their Ministerie, ministration, government, which they vsurp & exercise in the church, by the Scriptures; sought to turne away this question, & to get rid of their adversaries by other subtil & hostile practises: as at the first by shutting vp the chief of vs in their close prisons; by diffaming vs in their pulpits, printed books and sparsed libels in the land; by seeking to invegle vs with certaine subtil questions to bring our lives into danger; by suborned conferences with certaine their select instruments: Not to speak of the manifold molestations, and cruel usage at their commaundment shewed vs in the prisons. To their reprochful & slaunderous books, being set of God, though most vnworthie,

& suffering for the defence of the faith, & being thus provoked by them, I held it my dutie, according to the small measure of grace received, to make answer. Which I also did more then three yeres since. Likewise to deliver our selves from the false report and witnes that might be made against vs in those Conferences, we thought good to publish them to the land. For these books written more then three yeres since, after well neer six yeres imprisonment susteined at their hands, have these Prelates by their vehement suggestions and accusations, caused vs to be now indicted, arrayned, condemned, for writing & publishing sedicious books, vpon the same statute made the 23. yere of her Maiesties reigne. Their accusations were drawen into these heads:

*First, That I should write and publish the Queenes Maiesty to be vnbaptized.*

*Secondly, the state to be wholly corrupted from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot, in the lawes, iudgments, iudges, customes, &c. so that none that feared God, could live in peace therin.*

*Thirdly that all the people in the land are infidels.*

To these indictments I answered, generally, that eyther they were mistaken, or els misconstrued; that neyther in my meaning, matter, or words, any such crime could justly be found: My meaning, being just & without evil towards any man, much more towards my Soveraigne & the state, whom I from the hart honored: The matters, being meerly ecclesiastical, controverted betwixt this Clergie and vs: My words, being eyther in answer of their slanders, or in assertion of such things as I hold: That if I had offended in any of my words, it was rather casual through hast, then of any evil intent.

More particularly to the first, concerning the Queenes baptisme; I answered, that it was vtterly mistaken, both contrary to my meaning and to my expreesse words in that place of my book, as manifestly there appeareth to any indifferent reader: That I there purposely defended her Maiesties baptisme received, against such as hold the baptisme given in Poperie

to be no baptisme at all; where I proved, that it needed not to be repeated: yet there I also shewed such baptisme given in Poperie, not to seal Gods covenant to the church in that estate; & therefore that the abuse ought by all that had there received it, to be repented.

To the second indictment, I shewed the words by me vsed to be drawn from Isaiah, 1. & Revel. 13. That I had no evil mynd towards the state, lawes or Iudges; but onely shewed, that wher the Ministerie, the salt, the light is corrupted, the body and all the parts must needs be vnsound: which I immediatly in the same place of that book, shewed by the general breach of the lawes of both Tables, by all esstates, degrees, persons, &c. setting down the particulars.

To the third indictment I answered, that I gladly embraced & beleeved the common faith received & professed in this land, as most holy & sound: That I had reverend estimation of sundrie, & good hope of many hundred thousands in the land: though I vtterly disliked the present constitution of this church, in the present communion, ministery, ministration, worship, government & ordinances ecclesiastical of these cathedral & parishional assemblies.

Some other few things, such as they thought might most make against me, were culled out of my writings, & vrged: as, That I should hold her Maiesty to be antichristian, & her government antichristian. To which I answered, that it was with great and manifest injurie so collected: seing in sundry places of that book, and every where in all my writings & sayings, I have protested my exceeding good opinion & reverend estimation of her Maiesties royal person and government, above al other Princes in the world, for her most rare & singular vertues & indowments. I have every where in my writings acknowledged, all dutie and obedience to her Maiesties government, as to the sacred ordinance of God, the supreme power he hath set over all causes & persons, whether ecclesiastical or civil, within her dominions: Alwayes desiring to be intended of this false ecclesiastical government, forrayn power canons and courts brought in and vsurped by the Prelates and their accomplices.

But these answers, or whatsoever else I could say or allege, prevayled nothing; all thinges being so hardly construed and vrged against me; no doubt through the Prelates former instigations, & malicious accusations. So that I, with my fower other brethren, were the 23. of the third moneth, 1593. condemned, & adiudged to suffer death as fellons, vpon these indictments aforesaid. Vpon the 24. early in the morning, was preparation made for our execution: we brought out of the Limbo, our yrons smitten of, & we ready to be bound to the cart; when her Maiesties most gracious pardon came for our reprive.

After that, the Bishops sent vnto vs certaine Doctors & Deanes, to exhort and confer with vs. We shewed, how they had neglected the time; we had ben well nigh six yeres in their prisons, never refused but alwayes humbly desired of them Christian conference, for the peaceable discussing & deciding our differences, but could never obteyne it at their hands: neyther did these men all this time come vnto vs, or offer any such matter: That our time now was short in this world, neyther were we to bestow it vnto controversies, so much as vnto more profitable and comfortable considerations: Yet if they desired to have conference with vs they were to get our lives respited therevnto. Then, if they would ioyne vnto vs, two other of our brethren in their prisons, whom we named vnto them, we then gladly would condiscend to any Christian & orderly conference by the Scriptures, with such or so many of them as should be thought meet.

Vpon the last day of the third moneth, my brother Grenewood & I were very early & secretly conveyed to the place of execution: Where being tyed by the necks to the tree, we were permitted to speak a few words. We there, in the sight of that judge that knoweth and sercheth the hart, before whom we were thence immediatly to appear, protested our loyaltie & innocencie towards her Maiestie, our nobles, governors, magistrates, and this whol state: That in our writings we had no malicious or evil intent, so much as in thought, towards any of these, or toward any person in the world: That wherin we had through zele, or vnadvisedly, let fall any word or sentence

that moved offence, or caried any shew of irreverence, we were hartily sorie, and humbly besought pardon of them so offended for the same. Furder, we exhorted the people to obedience & hartie love of their Prince & Magistrates, to lay down their lives in their defence against all enemies: yea at their hands meekly and paciently to receive death, or any punishment they shall inflict, whether justly or vnjustly. We exhorted them also vnto orderly quiet & peaceable walking, within the limits of their own calling, to the holy fear & true worship of God. For the books written by vs, we exhorted all men, no further to receive anything therin conteyned, then they should find sound proof of the same in the holy Scriptures. Thus craving pardon of al men whome we had any way offended, and freely forgiving the whole world, we vsed prayer for her Maiesty, the Magistrates, people, and even for our adversaries. And having both of vs almost finished our last words; behold one was even at that instant come with a reprive for our lives from her Maiesty: Which was not onely thankfully received of vs, but with exceeding reioysing & applause of all the people, both at the place of execution, & in the wayes, streets, & houses, as we returned.

Thus pleased it God to dispose the vttermost violence of our adversaries, to the manifestation of our innocencie, concerning the crimes whereof we were accused & condemned: and not onely so, but also to the further shewing forth of her Maiesties princely clemencie, rare vertue, & Christian care over her faithful subjects, to the yet further manifesting of her renowned fame & love amongst all her people. And sure we have no doubt, but the same our gracious God, that hath wrought this marvelous work in her Maiesties princely hart, to cause her of her owne accord & singular wisdome, even before she knew our innocencie, twice to stay the execution of that rigorous sentence; wil now much more after so assured & wonderful demonstration of our innocencie, move her gracious Maiesty freely and fully to pardon the execution therof, as she that never desired, & alwayes lothly shed the blood of her greatest enemies; much lesse wil she now of her loyal Christian and innocent subiects: especially if her Maiesty might be truly

informed, both of the things that are passed, & of our lamentable estate & great miserie wherin we now continue in a miserable place & case, in the lothsome gayle of Newgate, vnder this heavie iudgement, every day expecting execution.

Herevnto if God shall move your noble hart, right vertuous Ladie, not for any worldly cause, (which for my present reproch & basenes, I dare not mention to your honour,) so much as for the love and cause of Christ, which we though [through] the grace of God professe; to informe her Maiesty of our intire faith vnto God, vnsteyned loyaltie to her Highnes, innocencie and good conscience towards all men; in pardoning our offence and judgement, or els in removing onr [our] poore worne bodies out of this miserable gayle, (the horror wherof is not to be spoken vnto your honour,) to some more honest & meet place, if she vouchsafe vs longer to live: Your Ladyship doubtlesse shall herein doe a right Christian and gracious act, acceptable to God, behoovefull to your soveraigne prince, comfortable to vs the poor condemned prisoners of Christ; yea to his whol afflicted church, and most of all to your own prayse and comfort in this life, and in the life to come. Herevnto further to exhort your honor, by the examples of the godly of like condition, in such times of publick distresses and danger, I hope I need not so much, as to stirre vp that good gift and grace of God which is in you, not to neglect or put from you this notable occasion sent vnto you from God, to shew forth the naturalnes of your faith vnto him, of your fidelity to your Prince, of your love to the members of Christ in distresse, whom as you succour or neglect herein, so assure your self wil Christ in his glorie esteme it as done or denyed to be done by you to his own sacred person.

Let not therfore, right dear and elect Ladie, any worldly or politick impediments or vnlikelyhoods, no fleshly feares diffidence or delayes, stop or hinder you from speaking to her Maiesty on our behalf, before she go out of this citie; least we by your default herein perish in her absence, having no assured stay or respite of our lives; and our malignant adversaries readie to watch any occasion for the shedding of our blood, as we by those two neer and miraculous escapes have found. Onely,

good Madame, do your diligent indevour herein, and commit the successe as we also with you shall, vnto God in our prayers: which howsoever it fall out, magnified be the blessed name of God in these our mortall bodies, whether by life or by death. His mighty hand, that hath hitherto vpholden vs, assist vs to the finishing vp this last part of our warfare, to the vanquishing of our last enemie death with all his terrors, and to the atteyning of that crowne of glorie which is purchased for vs in the bloud of Christ, layd vp and surely kept for vs in the hand of God: and not onely for vs, but for all that keep the faith and commaundements of Iesus. Of which number, noble Ladie, I hear and hope you are, and shal not cease (God willing) whiles I heer live, to further the same vnto you by my prayers & vtmost indevours. His grace and blessing, the prayers of the saincts, and myne vnworthy service be with you. This 4. or 5. of the 4. moneth [i.e., 4 or 5 April]. 1593.

*Your Honors humbly at commaundement during life, condemned of men but received of God:*

Henry Barrowe.

# IX

## THREE EARLY BARROWIST PETITIONS.

The humble, most earnest, & Lamentable Complaint & Supplication, of the persecuted & proscribed Church & Servantes of CHRIST, falsely called Brownists: Vnto the high Court of Parlament./[1]

The most high God, possessor of Heaven & Earth bringeth at this present before Your Lordships & Wisdomes (right Honorable) his owne cause, his owne people, his owne sworne & most trecherous Enimies, together with the most shamefull vsage of his truth & servantes that ever hath been heard of in the dayes of Sions professed peace & tranquilitie.

His Cause & People he offreth vnto your consideration & defence in our profession & persons: his Enimies & theyr outrage against his truth & servantes, in the persons & bloody proceedinges of y^e^ Prelates of this Land & theyr Complices.

Wee professe y^e^ same Faith & Truth of y^e^ Gospel which her Maiestie, which your Lordships, this Whole Land, & all y^e^ reformed Churches vnder Heaven this day doo hold & mainteine. Wee goe beyond them (beeing our only falt, even in y^e^ iudgment of our most tyrannicall & savadge enimies) in y^e^ detestation of all Popery, y^t^ most fearefull Antichristian Religion; & drawe neerer in some poinctes by our practise vnto Christs holy

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 150, in the British Museum. This petition was written between March 4 and 11, 1592/3.

order & Institucion. This is our faith, this is our cause (right Honorable) yea the Lordes Cause in our sinfull handes.

For the profession & maintenance of Which Faith, the forenamed Enimies of GoD deteine in theyr handes Within the Prisons about London (not to speake of other Gaoles throughout the Land) about threescore & twelue persons, men & Woemen young & old, lying in cold, hunger, dungeons & Yrons: Of which number they haue taken the Lordes day last, beeing the 4th of this .3. Moneth March *1592* about some .56. persons hearing ye Word of GoD truly taught, praying & praysing GoD for his favors shewed vnto vs, vnto her Maiestie, Your Lordships, & this whole Land; and desiring our GoD to be mercifull vnto vs, vnto our gracious Prince, & to our Contrey. Beeing employed in these holy actions & no other (as the parties who disturbed them can testifie) they were taken in the very place where ye persecuted Church & Martyres were enforced to vse the like exercises in Queene Maryes dayes.

The former nomber are now vnbayleably committed by the Prelate or Bishop of London &c vnto close (for ye most part) severall Prisons: As Brydewell, the Lymboe or dungeon in Newgate; the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the Counters, the Gatehouse, the Clynke, the White Lyon: Wherein wee willingly acknowledge the Lott & inheritance in this life of our Fore-fathers & Brethren the holy Martires of ye former age, and ye entayled Aceldema or bloody possession of the Sea of London & yt whole linadge. Well, heere our Brethren lye (how long Lord holy & true thow knowest) in dungeons, in hunger, in cold, in nakednes & all outward distresse: For those bloody men will allowe them neyther meate, drinke, fyre, lodging, nor suffer anie whose heartes the Lord would stirr vp for their releif to haue accesse vnto them, purposinge belike to emprison them vnto death, as they haue doon 17 or 18 others in the same noysome Gaoles within these .6. yeeres.

The Wife & Husband beeing now taken by them, they permit not to be in y^e^ same, but haue sent them to be closely kept in diverse Prisons: What theyr poore familie doth at home in y^e^ meane tyme your *Lordship*s may consider & iustly pittie. Some of this companie had not anie penie about them When they were sent vnto close Prison; nor anie thing beeing abrode (*which* is the case of the most of them, if not of all) to procure themselves & theyr poore families anie maintenance, saue only their handy labors & trades. Whereby it is come to passe, y^t^ these enimies of GoD doo not only starue & vndooe a number of men in Prison, but even a lamentable companie of poore Orphanes & servant*es* abrode. Their vnbrydled sclanders; Their lawlesse privie serches; Their violent breaking open & rifling of *our* houses; Their lamentable & barbarous vsage of woemen & young Children in these hostile assault*es*; Theyr vncontrolled theeverye, robbing & taking of whatsoever they thinke meete fro*m* vs in this case; Their vnappeased and mercilesse pursuite of vs from our houses, trades, wives, Children; But specially from y^e^ holy societie of y^e^ Sainct*es* & Church of GoD wee are enforced to omitt, lest wee should bee over tedious vnto Y*our* L*ordship*s. But theyr dealing this way toward vs is so woefull (right Honor*a*ble) as wee may truly demaund w^t^ greife of heart, whether the forreigne Enimie or our naturall Contrymen doo possesse & beare rule over vs in our deare & natiue Contrey./

Their whole dealing heerein is most barbarous, most inhumane, but especially most vnchristian, & such as exceedeth the crueltie, of the heathen & popish professed Tyrant*es* & persecuto^rs^. The Record*es* of the heathen persecution vnder Nero, Traian, Decius, Galienus, Maximinian, &c. can scant affoord vs anie examples of the like crueltie & havock: For the heathen Romans would murther openly & professedly; These godlesse men haue put the blood of warre about them in the day of that peace & truce w*hich* this Land

professeth to hold w^t^ Iesus Christ & his servant*es*. Bishop Boner, Storye, Weston, delt not after this sort: For those whome they com*m*itted close, they Would also eyther feed, or permit to be fedd by others; And they brought them in short space openly into Smythfeild to end their miserie, & to begin theyr never ending ioye. whereas Bishop Elmar, D. Stanope, & M^r^ Iustice Young w^t^ the rest of that persecuting & bloodthirstie facultie doo neyther of these. No Fellons, no Murtherers, No Traytors in this Land are thus delt w*i*th.

There are manie of vs by the mercy of GoD still out of theyr hand*es*. The former holy exercises & profession Wee purpose not to leaue by the assistance of o*u*r GoD. Wee haue as good warrant to reiect y^e^ Ordinanc*es* of AntiChrist, & to labor for y^e^ recoverie of CHRISTS holy Instituc*i*ons, as o*u*r Fathers & Brethren in Queene Maryes dayes had to doo y^e^ like. And wee doubt not if o*u*r Cause were truly knowne vnto her Ma*iest*ie & Yo*u*r wisdomes, but wee should finde greater favor then they did, whereas o*u*r estate now is far more lamentable./

And therfore wee humbly & earnestly craue of her Ma*iest*ie & Yo*u*r L*ordshi*ps both for our selves abrode, & for our Brethren now in miserable captivitie but iust & equall tryall according to her Ma*iest*is [*sic*] Lawes. If wee prooue not our Adversaries to bee in a most pestilent & godlesse course, both in regard of theyr Offices & theyr proceedings in them, and our selves to bee in y^e^ right way, wee desire not to have the benefit of her Ma*iest*is true & faithfull Subiects, w*hi*ch of all earthly favors wee accompt to bee one of the greatest. Are wee malefactors? Are wee anie wise vndutifull vnto our Prince? Maineteine wee anie errors? Let vs then bee iudicially convicted thereof, & delyvered to the Civill authoritie; But let not these bloody men both accuse, condemne & closely murther after this sort, contrarie to lawe, æquitie & Conscience, Where they

alone are the plaintiffes, the accusers, the Iudges, and the Executioners of theyr most fearefull & barbarous tyrannie.

They should not by the Lawes of this Land goe anie further in Cases of Religion then theyr owne Ecclesiasticall censures, and then referre vs vnto y^e^ Civill power. Their Fore-fathers Gardyner, Boner, Story, delt thus equally And wee Craue but this æquitie. Oh Let her excellent Maiestie our Sovereigne & Your Honours consider & accord vnto this our iust petition. For streames of innocent blood are likely to bee spilt in secret by these bloodthirstie men, except her Maiestie & Your Honours doo take order with theyr most cruell & inhumane proceedinges

Wee craue for all of vs but the Libertie eyther to dye openly or to lyve openly in y^e^ Land of our nativit[i]e. If wee deserue death, it beseemeth the Maiestie of Iustice not to see v[s] closely murthered, yea starved to death with hunger & colde, & stifled in lothsome dongeons. If wee be guyltlesse, wee crave but y^e^ benefit of our innocencie Viz. That wee may haue peace to serve our GoD & our Prince in the place of the sepulchres of our Fathers./

Thus protesting our innocencie, complayning of violence & Wrong, & crying for Iustice on the behalfe & in the name of y^t^ righteous Iudge the GoD of æquitie & iustice, Wee contynue our prayers vnto him for her Maiestie & your Honours, whose heartes wee beseech him to encline toward this our most æquall & iust suite, Through CHRIST IESVS our Lord./

[The humble
Petition of
[the imprisoned Barrowists]

["To the...Magistrates of our Most mercifull soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth in their seuerall places".]

For Goddes sake
For Queene Elizabeths sake
For Englandes sake &
For *your* owne sake
pervse yt With favoure
Yt tendethe to
mercy & vnitie][1]

[Written just after the death of Barrowe and Greenwood in 1593.]

The firste parte of
A tretise conteyning Motions touching
Mercie & vnitie

Sent by a few of those whoe are falslie & Maliciouslie called Brownist*es*.
For Christ*es* sake, For Queene Elizabeths, For Englandes sake, and for *your* owne sakes[2]

*per*use it, &
Neglect it not

If the confession of offence against her Ma*iesti*e, in some falt*es* escaped in those book*es* and the suffering death for yt by the Two principall doers, may be found sufficient punishment in conscience, for the qualletie of those faltes: The Lord graunte that None maye diswade her highnes from her Wonted Mercy, but that some may have Will and power to p*er*swade her grace to p*ar*don all former offences in theis poinct*es*,: And it shalbe a Warning to vs all to looke better vnto that w$^{ch}$ our penns lay downe (quia litera scripta manet), And We shall also be the more bounde, to praise our God, and to pray Vnto him for her Ma*iesties* most longe & prosperous raigne, and the p*re*sent & ever lasting comfort of her soule and boddie./

[1] Harl. MS. 6848, fol. 2–7, in the British Museum. Throughout the text here given words enclosed by dark brackets are such as have been inserted by the corrector of the Petition.

[2] The person who wrote this petition forms many of his small "m"s and "w"s, and even some other letters, with a long preliminary curved stroke of the pen, so that they much resemble capital, or if one may so express it, semi-capital, letters. When thus formed they are here given as capitals.

To the most honorable & Worshipfull Magistrates of our Most mercifull souer*a*igne Lady Queene Elizabeth in their seuer*a*ll place*s* (specially her highnes moste honorable privie counsell, in their digneties, her reverend Iudg*es* in their seates, the right honorable the Lord Maior of London, and the Worshipfull Iustices there in theire roomes) To all & euer*i*e of them, aboundaunce of heavenly Wisdome be Multeplied./

In Most humble and lamentable manner beseech yo*ur* honnou*rs* and worshipps, a fewe of the poore people, falslie and Maliciouslie called Brownist*es*, in behalfe of our selves at libertie, and more then Threskore [three score] poore prisoners now shut vp in the seuer*a*ll Gaoles and prisons of this most noble Cittie. That whereas all the bookes, letters, wrytinge*s*, examinac*i*ons speeches and acc*i*ons of anie par*t*iculer per*s*on, or of the whole congregac*i*on, are vndoubtedlie knowen to be quite contrarie to Infidells, Papist*es*, and Atheist*es*. And whereas none can prove that we hold anie heresie, or Mainteyne anie filthines amongest vs, (the thought whereof we thanke our God we abhorre) And lastlie, Whereas we doe here protest before his heavenly Ma*ies*tie (whoe knoweth all secrett*es*) that we hartelie desyer the glorie of our God to shine more and more in this nac*i*on by increase of true holines and Godliness in all the people thereof even with intire and fervent love to him, our Queene and one an other, togeather with the abundant peace plenty and prosperretie of our Countrie, and all this vnder the longe and most blessed government of our dread and souer*a*igne Ladie and Queene Elizabeth to Melchisedeches age, yf such be his good pleasure (whose princelie spirit*es* and boddie we praye that he will refreshe or renew as he doth the Eagles Bill) Yt may therefore please yo*ur* honnou*rs* and worshipps for God*es* sake to increase all charitable thought*es* of vs, and to be Mercifull vnto vs as our heavenlie Father is mercifull, and as our noble Queene doth plentifully and daylie ymitate ** him therein: Hereof we have late experience by her highnes prolonging** our deare M^r^ Barrowes and M^r^ Greenewoods life, when the instrument*es*, and Man and sheet*es* and flowers and grave,

"** [From margin.] sequens pag*ina* expungat*ur* [?] (in fine)"

of death Were all prepared, and they both reddie (as they had lived togeather like Two Turtles) to yeld vp their sperites togeather (like Two lambs) in all meekenes and obedience: Now blessed be our God for such a ruler of his people; Let them deepelie repent or perishe foreuer that once seeke one drop of her bloud, or peece of her land, or blemishe to her renowme. What is our cheife request in this Introduction? Having Twoe or Three Motions concerning Mercy, and more touching vnetie, whereby we verelie hope that this controversie shalbe the sooner taken vp, Wee most humblie beseech You to harken vnto them with patience and then to favour them so farre as they shalbe found Godlie, lawfull & convenient. Ye reuerend Magistrates, ye Godes (so called in the scriptures, because yow are in his stede to doe righteous Iudgment vppon the earth) Hath not the almightie given yow vnderstanding to trye the depth of all attemptes within this land? Wee trust he hath, Oh search vs deeper then, try our wayes, And if none can alleadge anie thinge against vs save onelie this one error (yf it be so) touching the law of our God. deale tenderlie with tender consciences: Wee are Yet perswaded that we shold shew our selves disobedient and vnthankfull to our maker, except we hold fast this cause: Yow know not how rich his mercie hath ben vnto vs, for we verelie suppose that yow never offended his divine Maiestie so much or so often as most of vs have donne (like the prodigall childe, yea like Mary Magdelin) But he hath washed vs & clensed vs, and given vs vnspeakable Ioye and peace of conscience sence we came to this companie: Mervell not then at our zeale, but pittie vs and helpe vs wherein yow know it to be a Misse. Behold a people wholly bent & vowed to serve the God of heaven in that course w$^{ch}$ they may perceive to be most tending to holines & righteousnes. Yf your honnours & Worshipps can bring anie to shew vs that We shall doe more true service to our God, our Queene and Countrie by comyng to the parish assemblies, verelie we will harken vnto them without obstinacy (& o that some of yow wold be the Witnesses and Iudges). Alas it is not our worldlie ease to be thus tossed as we are, yt is onely this matter of conscience that causeth all our sufferinges, and your troubles with vs./

like poore Daniels case. Chap. 6. 5. uerse

Wherefore for Christe Iesus sake (whose true servauntes we strive to be) for Queene Elizabeths sake, (whose true subiectes we are,) For Englandes sake (whose loving Countrymen we remaine) and for the honnour of your owne names and helth of your owne soules, let no man cause yow to fixe your eies and your thoughtes whollie vppon that our supposed falte (or falt indeede) but rather vppon some holie and Mercifull meane [whereby] this our too much heate may be cooled and tempered (yf it be adust [*sic*]) in all meekenes & love: [?] Howe? As becommeth them, that wold spend their blood against the Pope and Spanishe Kinge to deale with those that are most willing to doe the like: As it becometh Englishmen to deale with Englishmen, Protestantes with Protestantes, Fathers with their children, and breifely Christians with Christians: Men & Fathers yf yow cannot helpe vs presentlie, yet suffer vs to ease our hartes a litle by expressing our Woundes sorrowes and suites at large (even as a childe mourneth to the nurse) vnder God, we have no helpe but our Queene and Yow. And whoe knoweth Whether he will (even this Mournefull Moneth) by increasing our affliccions, cause yow to behold our loyaltie and innocency More then ever yow did, And thereby release vs the sooner, The Mercy of God, and the Mercifull inclinacion of our most gracious Queene, doth feede vs with vndoubted hope, that so manie of [the rest of] vs as cannot be found Traito$^{rs}$ or Herretickes, shall [yet] fynde favour & pardon. The God of Daniel, our Most mercifull Father, graunte all true Wisdome & prosperetie to our most gratious Queene Elizabeth, and to as manie of yow and yours as desyer to increase in true feare and love & service of that mighty God of Izraell. Amen.

Motions tending to mercy

First That it may please your honnours and worships (the promysses christianlie pondered) never to hearken vnto them, Whoe shall goe aboute to perswade Yow that this people deserve the like terror and punishment, as treacherous and Idolatrous Papistes doe./ 1

Secondlie, That yt may please yow to take order for releasing 2

theis pore distressed protestantes, freelie from those contagious Gaoles, yf that may stand with lawe and conscience./

3 Orels, To baile them vppon sufficient securetie, to answer at a reasonable Warning vnto whatsoever shall be obiected against them./

4 Lastlie, yf it be not thought convenient that Wee her *Maiesties* naturall and loving subiect*es* shold have the same libertie graunted vs in the Worship of God, W^ch^ her highnes giveth to strangers, French, Dutche, and Italian (sithe our practise is no othe[r] in every cheife poinct, then that of theirs, and Geneua, and all other reformed Churches.) Yet that we maye have Summam misericordiam, Not summum ius: Sed quorsum hec de Gallis. &c:? Inuidus alterius? Non equidem inuidemus (honoratissimi et nobillissimi viri) miramur magis vndiq*ue* totis vsq*ue* a deo &c. En nos &c: (sed tempus non datur).

The other motions tending to vnitie (w^ch^ wee trust wilbe acceptable to y*our* honn*ours* and Worshipps) shalbe now [alsoe] delivered to yow [and more partes] God willing very shortlie, yf theis firste, and the Women that bring them doe fynde such favo*ur* in y*our* eies, as not to be turned back or Misliked: Otherwise wee know not what course to take (so greate is our Misery and want of men and Meanes to expresse it) Wee are like enough to offend in not Wryting with such discression as we ought, and they in not delivering with such modestie as they shold: But wee are simple men, and they are silly Women. Therefore howsoever either Wee now or others of late have failed in Manner or matter, Wee most humblie beseech y*our* honn*ours* and wors*hipps* to be p*er*swaded, that it was not for lack of care and conscience, but onelie for Want of Iudgment and experience, and therefore to p*ar*don vs the sooner: If he that hath but his foote out of ioynct can scarce doe anie thing currantly, What can they doe whoe have [all] their cheife members troubled and almoste quite cut of? No Marvell yf their accons [*sic,* for "acc*i*ons"] be distempered (some too violent, some too cold) In such a case have we ben theise manie Weekes The knee (as it were) is faine to ronne for the foote and a few litle fingers

(w^ch^ cold never helpe them selves) to labour for the Whole bodie: Howbeit we truste that in such tymes and cases, your *Lordships* & Wor*shipps* will ymmitate all Godly men of trades (si liceat magna paruis) when Children or servaun*tes* are sent vnto them, they Will give better Ware and Measure, and dispatch them sooner then yf the parent*es* them selves shold come to buye: Necessety compelleth vs to make mone & signes vnto yow: Ah barre vs not of that comfort for then shall our greate distresse be made vnspeakable. Heu, quanta miseria est, in tormento, nec vocem, nec pennam, nec signum habere: O vos qui Dij appellamini, nolite istiusmodi silentiam iniungere: ferme omnes perimus (dolore et paupertate oppressi) Iuniores carent gubernatione, et aliqui seniores sepulti sunt: si non remedium statim, saltem lachrymas suspiria, Declarationes, supplicationes, et verba concedite (presertim matri pro filio, sorori pro fratre vxori pro marito) Aliter, regia (quasi) petendi via obstructa erit, quod adhuc non factum esse vidimus (Deo gratias) Ecce feminas petentes pro charissimis suis in causa lamentabili, cum motionibus honestis, legitimis et pijs: Estote misericordes, qui sub Deo et Elizabetha ([ipsius] Ancilla Regina nostra) judicatis et gubernatis Angliam.

In all humble and pittifull manner Wee intreate Yow not to make question whoe shold begynne to releive vs: But as we have ioyned Yow all in one humble peticion: soe all of yow to ioyne togeather in one Christian compassion and euerie one in his place according to his lawfull auc*thori*tie to helpe vs: The cause whie We made our direction thus generall, was, to the ende that one or a few coppies might passe from manie handes to manie hart*es*: Wee beseech Yow then, send our papers from one to an other, & lett our lamentable case remaine in Your bosome till there be some godlie & Mercifull order taken for vs./

** Whereas We spake of her ma*iesties* imitacion of God in
** mercy, lest some might misconster [*sic*] vs as liers or flatterers, thus We say. We are persuaded that their reprive as from her highnes, was in mercy, and that their execution (sone

after) Was rather importuned & hastened by others then easily consented vnto by her grace For hath she not ben alwaies very mercifull to her veriest enemies? Therefore howsoeuer yt fell out, we still retaine a good hope of her maiesties favour towardes vs when God shall fynd meanes to revele our inocencie vnto her, and still we pray that nothing may withdrawe our loiall [?] hartes from her[1]

[The second parte]

Motions tending to Vnitie

1 That yf we maie not heare publique conference for anie inconvenience (in regard Whereof it were better We shold suffer Mischeif) Yet that our Teachers may (in our hearing yf it be thought Meete,) have such as Was graunted Campion and his fellowes

2 Orels, That there may be some conference betwene ij or iij of either side, before a good nomber of your honnours and worshipps in some private Chamber, the Manie questions agreed vppon before hand (with preparacion by fasting and prayer) and when the tyme commes [?] omytting all tauntes and by Matters, onely searching the truth in love. To the touchstone, To the lawe and the Testament.

3 Orels such a conference as was graunted Hart, the Papist. Yf it be obiected that none of our side are Worthie to be thus disputed or Wrytten With (publiquelie nor privately) Wee thinke that this will prove the contrary viz, because there are 3. or 4 in this Cittie and More els Where, Whoe have ben zealous preachers in the parish assemblies, Not ignorant in the Lattin Greeke & Hebrew tongues (nor otherwayes vnlerned) and generally confessed to be of honest conversacion. To be breife, as gentle and lerned Mr Reynoldes of Oxford and others like him are yet alive, so are there right honorable and godlie disposed personages of sir Frauncis Walsinghams mynde (and

[1] The corrector of the petition evidently wished this paragraph omitted from the text, as he has expressed in Latin in the margin of fol. 2 verso.

alyance and mynde), Whoe have power Wee know, and good Will we hope to furder such lawfull Mocions tending to so good purposes./

If these mocions take effect wee are verely perswaded that the controvercy Will soone ende (with all or moste of vs) For by theis Meanes shall Wee poore Wretches whoe onelie Make this sepperacion (as knoweth the Lord) for love we have to kepe his commaundimentes and for feare to disobey him, perceive more plainely Whether (as men & simple soules) we be deceived by a false light, orells (as his deare children (for soe we hope) honored and trusted with the first view of and faithfull standing in a cause of holines and righteousnes. Wherefore in most humble and earnest manner, and even as yow feare God and love righteousnes (and as yow strive to resemble him in liking better of them that are hott, then of those that are luke Warme) We intreate your honnours and Worshipps to labour in obteyning theis or some better Mocions for procuring vnitie and Mercye, that the blessinges promysed to Mercifull Men and peacemakers, maye light vpon Yow and yours, and the curses threatened for the contrary maye be farre from Yow. Ye reuerend Magistrates and noble guides of this most florrishing common Welth, We beseech Yow againe and againe in the Lord Iesus, searche your selves narrowlie when Yow seeke him whome your soule loueth. and thinke how yow wold desyer to be dealt with yf yow were in our case, and so deale with vs and our Teachers; If yow suppose them and vs to be in a grevious error, for common humanities sake (were there no further cause) let vs not perishe either secretly in prisons or openlie by execucion for want of that vtermost helpe w$^{ch}$ lyeth in your power to afford them that are not obstinate./

If anie adversary shall obiect that we are Worthie of close ymprisonmentes in Most contageous ayre, without bayle, and vnworthie of having or hearing anie greate prepared conference or of anie favour because some of vs have ben conferred with alreadie, and yet remaine in greate error as lerned men Iudge, We make this answer, and praye eache one of tender harte to ponder it deepelie./

God forbid that all they whoe [erre] greately in some opinions

shold have no other Meanes to convert them but sodden vnequall conferences by [startes] [?] (with snatching & [?] and Catching) without good order and indifferent hearing and Iudges, (such have all or the moste of our conferences ben) and then yf they Will not by and by yeild, be thought Worthie of as bad prisons as theeves and Roges: The holy ghoste seemeth to be of another Mynde. 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25, 26. even towardes those Whoe are in the snare of the Devill taken prisoners by him to doe his Will (can We be worse then such) And also Galla. 6. 1, 2, 3, O that the Bisshopes and all the zealous preachers of this land, wold aske their owne hartes whether we [have] ben soundlie and lovinglie delt with according to theise rules. If they be true Pastors to vs, then though we goe a straye and be intangled in errors (as sillye sheepe with thornes) yet ought they to follow vs seeke vs vp, and vnlose vs with all tendernes (not so much for feare of loosing of our fleece as of our soules,) The love of a naturall brother is greate, and Will not easely cease, but more of a naturall Mother but much More of a supernaturall father (such are Pastors and therefore they Will not easely give over the leaste and leanest of their flocke, though he have a greate disease, a greate error): O why then doe theise or anie of them so revile vs in their bookes & common speeches, Whie doe they Wishe and perswade the Civil Magistrate to deale With vs by the sword and not by the Word, by prisons and Not by perswations, Whie doe they vse vs thus whiles we praye for them and wish them no more harme then we desyer to our owne soules and bodies, naye whilest we grone and longe to heare some of them, so wee might doe it with a saife conscyence? Is there no other remedy but yf wee erre We must be thus dealt With? Alas our first parentes Adam and Eve did fall: The Patriarkes had their faltes, the holiest Prophetes Were not free from them, the Appostles erred and dissented, The Auncient Fathers of the Prymative Church retracted divers opinions, greate parliamentes & generall counsells have fouly erred The lerned of this age, Yea of this land, (, Naye of one profession and Church) differ very Much in Iudgment aboute moste of the same poinctes wch we doe, And whoe is cleere from

synne error & ignoraunce But so longe as men are not in herresy nor in trechery, Nor in filthie conceipt*es* nor in obstinacy but erring (yf they doe faile) on the right hand in poinct*es* uncondempned, still hating all falce wayes and loving the pathes of righteousnes, thus long there is apparant Mercy in the Moste high, and so is there in those Pasto$^{rs}$, those Magistrates those people Whoe have feeling compassion (when God bring*es* meanes Whereby they vnderstand the truth of acc*i*ons.) As for dungeons, Irons, close ymprisonment, honger, cold, want of meanes to mainteyne their famulies [?], theise may cause some to make shipwrack of a good conscyence or to lose their life, but they are not fitt Wayes to p*er*swade [honest men] to anie truth or diswade them from errors. /

Her Ma*ies*tie hath shewed greate Mercy to [her] vndoubted enemies, the trecherous Papist*es*. What then Wold her Ma*ies*tie shew to vs yf she knew that w$^{ch}$ some of yow doe now see. O that her grace and Yow did vnderstand of all our acc*i*ons, and did see [the] seu*er*all declarac*i*ons of our faith and loyalty (longe sence penned) Wee shold not then be longe in such hazard of vtter spoyle to our bodyes and Myndes (of evel ayre and dyet) and of the poore remnant of our good*es*, and of our famulies [?] distrucc*i*on through lack of guiding. Doubtles right honorable & Worshipfull) vnles there be some speedie & Mercifull order taken With vs, both Wee our selves are like to p*er*ishe in the gaoles (as divers of our bretheren & sisters have donne) and our famulies [?] & housholde*s* fall to vttur ruen and decaye through Want of government and teaching. / [Alas (reverend Fathers) What is Youth Without governeme*n*t? and What governeme*n*t can there be in those howses whose shop Windowes are alwaies shut, Whose masters are continuall prison*er*s, Whose dames [?] are dayly cold sutors, and whose teachers & overseers are so enclosed as they cannot p*er*forme any dutie vnto them vpon the Lord*es* day, or wekely from howse to howse] Mercifull Magistrates yf anie of yow fynde the bowells of y*our* Christian compassion stirred by theise lamentable yet true report*es*, let not y*our* eyes rest untill y*our* heart*es* have made a promise to cause y*our* tonges to speake, and Y*our* bodies to labo*ur* for Mercy & vnetie. And the God

of righteousnes graunte that Yow maye fynde peace & favour with him in the dayes of trouble, sicknes, and death (whereto all flesh is subiect). Amen. /

To the right honorable Syr . Roe[1] nowe Lord major of London abundance of all blessinges be multiplied to Goddes glorie

Right honorable seinge God disposeth of everie action (accordinge to his surpassinge Wisedome) and sith he and his Angelles behold all the doinges of men, We humblie beseche yo[u] to consider with your self that yt is not without some providence of his (to your good if you deale mercifullie) that these thinges touchinge Mercy and Vnitie are first brought to your Lordships handes: Many of our bretheren are in the prisons belonginge to your Libertie, Nowe as your Citie is accounted the most noble (even as the Princes chamber) and as You are the honorable and chefe officer therein, so we beseche our God that your Lordship may be made a noble honorable & Worthy instrument in bringinge these twoe most blessed and acceptable thinges (in the sight of God & man) to good passe: If we sent you vile thinges (dishorable [dishonorable] to God our Queene & Contrey) ought you not to make the superior magistrates acquainted with them? surely you ought: But howe if we acquaint your Lordship with honest motions (tendinge to the glorie of God, the honour of her maiestie and the benefit of our Contrey) should you not doe the like? dowtles you should: If you hide yt or neglect yt, yet the almighty may fynd waies to bring yt to the sight of her highnes right honorable Counsell and her graces reverend Iudges: But if you vouch-safe to be a charitable and godlie meane for effectinge such lawfull & conscionable [?] Suites, You shall dischardge the dutie of a most honorable officer of a most famous & populous Citie, and we and all ours shalbe

[1] Evidently Sir William Rowe, but Joseph Hayden in his "Book of Dignities", London, 1890, appears to give Sir William's year of office as 9 November, 1591, to 9 November, 1592. It is not unlikely that during this time of trouble and imprisonment the separatist leaders had forgotten that a new Lord Mayor had already assumed the dignities of that position.

the more bound to pray vnto our God that he will blesse your Mayraltie with all manner blessinges of trewe peace (both inward & outward) and of healthe, with all other prosperities soe as may tend most to his owne glory and your and our comfort in hym: And that he will continnewe those blessinges to your successors and to all England in such sorte as moche happines may redound to you & vs and all her maiesties dominions for many Yeares (if yt be his will) vnder the blessed governement of our most gratious Zoueraigne Ladie & Queene Elizabeth

Amen

The humble Petition of her
highnes faithfull Subiects falsly
called Brownistes [of 1597][1].

.....

To the Right Honorable the Lords of her
Maiesties most honorable priuie Councell:

Whereas wee her Maiesties naturall borne Subiectes true and Loyall now lyving many of vs in other Countries as Men exiled her highnes Domynions, and the rest which remaine within her Graces land greatlie distressed thorough imprisonment and other great troubles sustained onlie for some matters of conscience in which our most lamentable estate, wee cannot in that measure performe the dutie of Subiectes, as wee desier. And also Wheareas meanes is now offered for our beeing in a forraigne and farre Countrie which lieth to the West from hence in the Province of Canada where by the providence of the Almightie, and her Maiesties most gratious fauour, wee may not onlie worshippe god as wee are in conscience perswaded by his Word, but also doe vnto her Maiestie and our Country great good service, and in tyme also greatlie annoy that bloodie and persecuting Spaniard about the Baye of Mexico. Our most humble suite is that it may please Your Honors to bee a meanes vnto her excellent Maiestie that with her most gracious

[1] S. P., Dom., Elizabeth, 1593, Vol. 246 (No. 56), in the Public Record Office, London.

fauour and protection wee may peaceablie Depart thither, and there remayning to bee accounted her *Maiesties* faithfull and loving Subiectes, to whom wee owe all dutie and obedience in the Lord. Promising heerebie, and takeing god to record who searcheth the hartes of all people. That wheresoeuer wee become wee will by the grace of god liue and die faithfull to her highnes and this Land of our Natiuitie: /

# X

## HITHERTO UNNOTICED TESTIMONY CONFIRMING ROBERT BROWNE'S OPINION OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND AS PUBLISHED IN RICHARD BANCROFT'S SERMON PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS: TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THE GROUNDS ON WHICH ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT RECOMMENDED BANCROFT'S APPOINTMENT AS BISHOP OF LONDON

[A Letter of Sir Robert Naunton to Dr. J. Copcoat, Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, relating to the publication of Richard Bancroft's famous "Sermon preached at Pavles Crosse", and dated November 12, 1589.][1]

Sir My Humble dutie to your Worship precommended &c. [?] The ould inveterate [?] grudg conceived by this Clergie against m^r^ Doctour Bancrofte for meer medling with their anarchie [?] here established; how soeuer it seemed for a time to have bene divested or at least voyded [?] together with such cholericke humours & termes of splene as they disgorged their stomaches of at y^e^ first receipt: yet is it at length descried [?] to haue impostuned [?] & rankled inward [?] all this while, by y^e^ late fostering & drawing to a heade which we [?] here perceive allready [?], and is like er longe to breake out to some further anoyance there, if discrete remedie be not foreseene in time. A man wold hardly beleeve that such professours of Charitie, should be such reteiners of enmitie Et tamen istos si quis forte vel verbo commoverit, manet alta mente repostum. etiam plumbeas iras gerunt [?]. He that shall heare their protested sinceritie & see their practised extremitie he may iustly exclame with that Poeticall admiracion—tantaé ne animis

[1] Add. MS. 32,092. fol. 106–7, in the British Museum.

coelestib*us* irae? At y^e^ first publishing of M^r^ Bancrofts sermon, there was nothing but breathing out threatninges of I know not what Canonicall confutac*i*on to be set forth by y^e^ generall consent of their pr*o*vinciall Synode, anathematizing as well y^e^ read*e*rs [?] as y^e^ auth*o**u*r of that schismaticall libell for so it pleased some of their brother*h*oods to intitulate [?] that booke). Since when, either vpon their kings earnest intreatie (his H*ighn*es standing so intirely well affected to y^e^ inter-teignem*e*n*t* & pr*e*servac*i*on of all good amitie betwene the two Crownes) or rath*e*r bethinking them selves that there was nothing in that sermon w*h*ich might gall them any way, but was literally derived out of the acts of their owne p*a*rleam*e*n*t* declared by publicke autoritie, they have vpon mature del*i*b*e*rac*i*on (vt s*u*n*t* istor*um* h*o*min*u*m secundae cogit*ati*one*s* aliquanto saniores) revoked that p*u*rpose of controverting y^e^ matter by pen for feare of ripping vp their old sores & vncou*e*ring y^e^ shame of their reformac*i*on [?] alla Scotcese (y^e^ searching wherof they haue no list to heare of) but haue reserved notw*i*thstanding [?] y^e^ ranc*o**u*r of their brotherly *μνησικακία* still boyling in their brests, till the first opportunitie shold serve [?]. when to belche it forth. To w*h*ich intent waiting all pacience still [?] swelling [?] on w*i*thout vent, might at length indanger them to brast [burst] for envie like Asops tode, they haue taken their advantage of the time pr*e*sen*t* p*e*rsuading them selves that now in absence of their kinge (of whose sailing into Norwey to fetch home his *Queene* I doubt not but yo*u* have heard long since) bearing so highe a saile in y^e^ state as they do, & being earnestly moved from her Ma*i*est*i*e to p*e*rforme all good offic*e*s [?] they may to keepe this people on good terms till their Sou*e*raines returne (wherein I denye not but their endevo*u*rs haue bene well imployed) & therupon presuming that this is their time wherein to make their market in England. Her Ma*i*est*i*e having promised them all good Correspondence in rec*o*mpence of their paines taken for y^e^ peaceable qualificac*i*on of her vnruly neighbo*u*rs in so dangerous a time [?]; they made resort to my L. Amb*assador* here, acquainting him w*i*th their [?] greife [?], craving his assistance for their redresse, & offringe their l*ett*res

of Complainte vnto her Maiesty of such & such abuses against y^e^ puritie of their reformacion [?] not only committed by one of her Highnes subiects, but permitted & allowed by her Highnes publicke autoritie to their [?] greate slander, scandale & I know not what. My L. having received late instructions from y^e^ Councel to put in execution all good meanes he mought to winne & reteine [?] their kindnes in a time so necessarye (& therefore [?] being to temporise & second them in all their motives [?] in convenient sorte) had much adoe [?] to [?] withstand their vrgent importunitie with all the earnest intreatie he could make for the delaie of their Complainte herein, alleging that how fitt soeuer the present might seeme to serve their turne for exhibiting of their supplicacion, yet that it was on y^e^ other side as vnseasonable a time for her Maiestie to intende their redresse, being so encombred as she now is with diuerse other her greate affaires both domesticall & forein [?], promising that if they woulde referre y^e^ matter to him, he would of him selfe worke privatelie for their satisfaction as he could, or at least to watche them a fiter time to present their complaints with better hope of taking place &c. And so after much debating to & fro they were intreated [?] thoughe halfe malecontente to suppresse their supplicacion till some better opportunity, not dessembling [?] y^eir^ purpose to selicite her Highnes further herein by some other extraordinarie meanes, vnles some speedy satisfaction were procured by my L^d^ dealing to that effecte. Wherupon being glad of so fitte an opportunity [?] to declare my due regard of my humble dutie & service aswell to my Lords grace as to your worship hereof, I vndertoke to my L. Ambassador that he would aduertise your worship thereof in such time, as my L^ds^ grace might take knowledge of their designements before hand, the better to prevent any such inconvenience as might insue hereupon, specially in such a time wherein her Maiestie having so necessarie occasion to vse their service here, may happilie be drawen the rather to respecte y^e^ [?] importunitie of their Clamorous complaints whatsoeuer. I may please your worship to acquainte my Lords grace herewith if so you shall thinke good & to recommend my L. Ambassadors most affectionate

devocion to his Honour, who (if[?] he might presume so farre) wold gladlye knowe his graces direction how to deale therein, or otherwise to imparte it to m^r^ Bancrofte that he may the better bethinke him selfe[?] postquaṁ irritavit hos crabrones quibus armis aut consilijs horum aculeis eatur obviam. Sunt enim & Stoicis sua πάθη, & his etiam Sanctis sua bilis. Nimirum quod in alijs scelus, id in his zelus quid nj habeatur? And so most humbly presenting my humble dutie & service, craving your best acceptance of my perfite[?] good meaning herein how soeuer imperfectly vttered, I cease further to be tedious to your worship.

At Edenburgh this xij^th^ of November 1589.

Your worships most intirely devoted

R. Naunton

[A Letter of Richard Bancroft's, dated December 23, 1589, also relating to his Sermon at Paul's Cross.][1]

To my good frend M^r^
Nanton attendinde
vpon y^e^ L: Embassador
in Scotland.

Good M^r^ Nanton. Althoughe we have no acquaintaunce together, yet by the letter yow writt not longe since to D^r^ Copcot I find my selfe exceedingly beholden vnto yow. Towchinge the effect of which letter there hath been consideration taken by my good Frendes. I had written a letter to the chief of the great Rabbies: but bicawse I am certaynly enformed that there is a booke written agaynst my sermon which shall withowt doubt be printed I have thought good with some advice to stay the same. It appeareth likewise by your letter how greatly I am bownd to my L: Embassador: I doubt not but that both my L: of Canterbury and my L: Chauncelor who are acquainted therwithall will give him thankes on my behalfe. The truth is I had no intent to have offended any of the

[1] Egerton MS. 2598 (fol. 242–3) in the British Museum.

ministers there [in Scotland]. Yow know we are pressed with examples of other Churches to the imbracinge of that most counterfeyt and falsly patched vp government which is tearmed the presbitery, a meere humane device devised by shiftinge and sleight, attayned by tiranny and bloud, and mainteyned with vntollerable pride and with most straunge boldnes in expoundinge the scriptures and falsifyinge of all antiquitye. In which respect I thought it agreable with my duty and the since beinge called to that place to give warninge by the miserable estate of the Church of Scotland least we should fall into the like desolation. But howsoever it is taken I shall be redy for them: especially if I may crave your favor by satisfyinge the particular poyntes conteyned in the sheet of paper here inclosed. For other matters towchinge the course which hath been held for the erectinge of that government ever since Iames the fifte I am well acquainted with yt. I have read of the last stratageme and exployt at Strivelinge when the kinge was taken. But peradventure yow may learne more therof then is mentioned in our English late Chronicle of Scotland. For of that poynt I have litle more then there is conteyned. Furthermore I doe perceave vpon diverse occasions that the chiefest of the ministers of Scotland (especially Mr Melvin [probably Andrew Melville]) have procured sondry lettres from Mr Beza and other learned men beyond the seas concerninge theyr ratefyinge of the Church government there established. Which lettres or the copyes of them if by the strength of your device yow be able to compasse they will greatly pleasure me. For thereby it will appere what very false reportes have been made by them both of the kinge and of the Bishopes there. Vpon which vntrue suggestions the sayd learned men did write otherwise then they wold have done if they had knowen the truth, I can not see how yow can accomplish this poynt except yow insinuate your selfe into them as one desirous to embrace theyr devices if yow might see the same confirmed by the iudgmentes of Beza and other learned men of Fraunce &c: Thervpon peradventure they will show yow the sayd lettres. If also yow could procure the Copyes of theyr owne lettres sent to Beza &c that were notable what paynes yow shall be

pleased to take herein, and to certifye me thereof from time to time whilest yow stay there yow may signify vnto me with all securitye if yow direct your lettres to M^r^ Ashly one of the Clarkes of her Maiesties privy counsell. But I wold have yow to seale such lettres as yow write vnto me and to inclose them in a letter to him of my direction to yow and then I am sure he will be very carefull to deliver them vnto me. M^r^ D^r^ Copcott my very frend I thinke will ioyne with me for your good favor in the premises: Yow may thereby as I suppose furnishe your selfe with good experience: and if hereafter yow shall have any occasion wherin I may doe yow any pleasure assure your selfe yow shall commaund me. And so with my harty commendations I committ yow to god: from Lambeth y^e^ 23 of December, 1589.

Your Lovinge frend

Rich: Bancrofte[1].

[Some of the "Reasons alledged by the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, for D^r^ (Richard) Bancroft's being promoted to the Bishoprick of London."][2]

"He was by his diligent search the first Detector of Martin Mar-Prelats Press & Books, where & by whom they were printed[3].

"He was an especiall Man, that gave the Instructions, to her Majesties learned Council, when Martin's Agents, were brought into the Star Chamber.

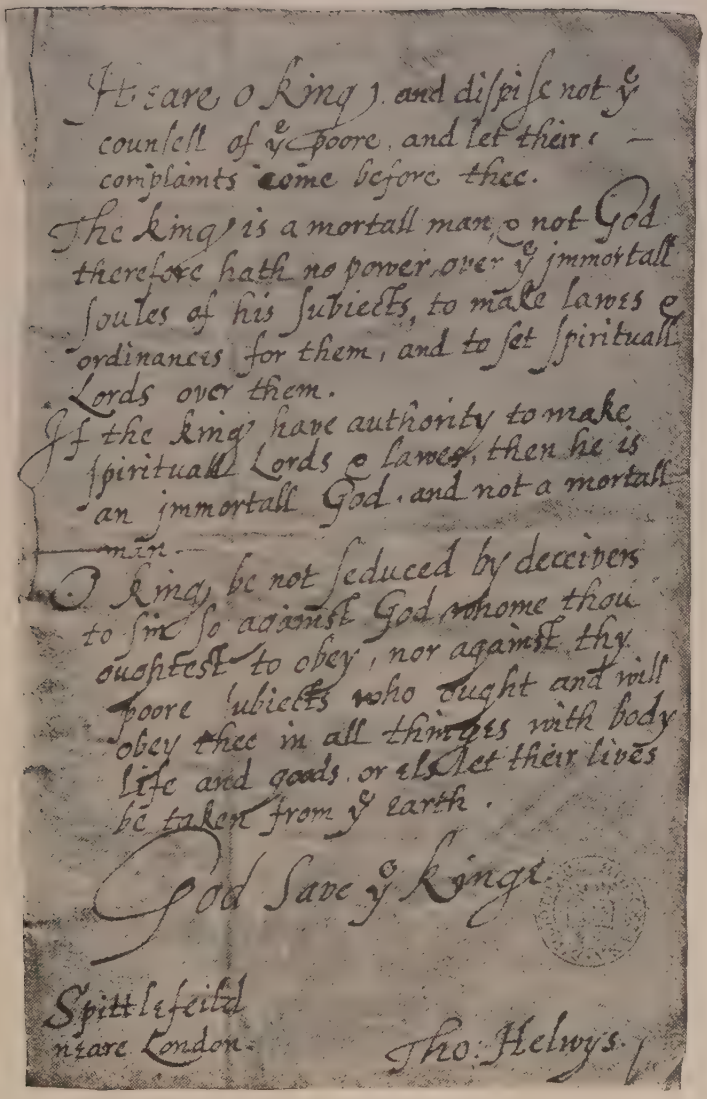
"By his advice, that Course was taken, which did principally stop Martin & his Fellow's [*sic*] mouths viz: to have them answered after their own vein in writing.

"By his diligence to find out certain Letters & writings,

[1] Only the signature and the words beginning with "from Lambeth" are in Bancroft's own handwriting.

[2] Baker MS. 36, pp. 333–5, in the University Library, Cambridge. It is possible that the original manuscript of which this is a copy, is to be found in Harleian MSS. 6848 or 6849 in the British Museum. I think that I have somewhere seen the original.

[3] P. 333.



Heare o King, and dispise not ye
counsell of ye poore, and let their
complaints come before thee.
The king is a mortall man, & not God
therefore hath no power over ye immortall
soules of his subiects, to make lawes &
ordinances for them, and to set spirituall
Lords over them.
If the king have authority to make
spirituall Lords & lawes, then he is
an immortall God, and not a mortall
man.
O King, be not seduced by deceivers
to sin so against God whome thou
oughtest to obey, nor against thy
poore subiects who ought and will
obey thee in all thinges with body
life and goods, or els let their lives
be taken from ye earth.
God save ye Kinge.
Spittlefeild
neare London.
Tho: Helwys.

THOMAS HELWYS' AUTOGRAPH INSCRIPTION TO KING JAMES I, 1612. See Vol. I., page 252.

Mr: Cartwright & his complices, their setting up their Discipline secretly in most shires of the Realm, their Classes, their Decrees, & Book of Discipline were first detected."[1]

"By his only diligence, Penry's seditious writings were intercepted as they came out of Scotland, & delivered to the now *Lord* Keeper.

"His earnest desire, to have the slanderous Libels, against her Majestie answered, & some pains of his taken therein, wold not be omitted because they show his true Affection, & & [*sic*] dutifull heart unto her Highness."[2]

"Though he hath been carefull & zealous to suppress some sort of Sectaries, yet hath he therein shewed, no tyrannous Disposition, but with mildness & kind dealing, when it was expedient, hath reclaimed diverse."[3]

[1] P. 334. [2] P. 334. [3] P. 335.

# XI

## THE NAMES OF VARIOUS PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN MEMBERS OF FRANCIS JOHNSON'S CONGREGATION BEFORE 1613, INCLUDING THE NAMES OF SOME WHO HAD WITHDRAWN FROM IT OR BEEN EXCOMMUNICATED, AND OF OTHERS WHO HAD BECOME WANDERERS

GATHERED FROM GEORGE JOHNSON'S "A discourse of some troubles/", 1603; from "The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists", 1612; and from Christopher Lawne's "Brovvnisme Tvrned The In-side out-ward", 1613

W. Adams
Henry [Henrie] Ainsworth
R. Appleby
William Asplin (?)
William Barbor [? Barbones[1]]
Elizabeth Bates
Robert Bayly [Baylie]
Mr. Bellot [Arthur (?) Billet]
Edward Benet
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Bishop [Bishopp]
Francis Blackwell
Christopher Bowman, deacon, later an elder.
—— Braithwait, deacon.
Robert Bulward, excommunicated.
Thomas Canadine
Mr. Castel
Alexander Carpenter
Richard Clarke

[1] See E. Pagitt's "Heresiography", fourth edition, London, 1647, 4°, p. 65.

George Cleaton
Iohn Clifton
Iohn [Jean] de Cluse [de l'Ecluse]
Thomas Cocky
Anne Colyer
G.[eorge] Colyer
Mr. Crud
Christopher Dickons
G. Dickons
William Eiles
Iohn Fovvler
R. Frank
William Gilgate, Ainsworthian, formerly a minister in England.
Mr. Greene
Mr. Hales [? Halies]
Mother Heas
Mistresse Hinton
Iudith Holder
William Holder
Henrie Homline
I. Huntley
Cvth.[bert] Hvtten (?)
Mr. Isaac
Robert Iackson
Lewis Jenkins
Francis Iohnson & his wife Mrs.
Tomison Iohnson
George Iohnson
Iacob Iohnson, who had returned to England before 1603.
Iohn Iohnson, Francis Johnson's father.
Mr. Knifton, an Elder.
Christopher Lavvne
Charles Leigh, Captain of the "Hopewell" in which Francis Johnson and Daniel Studley sailed for Canada.
Mr. [Nicholas ?] Ley [? Lee]
Richard Mansfield, Ainsworthian.
G. Marshal

George Martin
Henry May
Marie May [Maie], "the victualler".
Stanshal Mercer
Philipp Merriman, in 1603 a man of sixty years of age, who had been excommunicated "about 20. Years".
Thomas Michel [Mitchell]
Iohn Nicholas
Thomas Odal
Mr. Onyon
[Mrs (?) Catherine Onyon (?)]
Richard Ore
—— Pecksall, "the Prophet".
Father Perriman
Iohn Phelps
T. Pring
Abraham Pulbery [Pulburie]
Widdow Roules
Clement Sanders
Mat.[thew] Savnders [?]
Mr. [Thomas] Settel, a preacher, and about 1595 prisoner in the "Gate-House", London. [By 1609 he was in Norfolk.]
W. Simson, an Ainsworthian (?).
Mr. [Matthew ?] Slade, once an Elder.
Daniel Studley
Mr. & Mrs. Sutheby
Ioseph Tattam
Anthony Thatcher
Martin Thatcher
Edward Tolwine
Iohn Trappes
Ellen Vpton
B. W.
Roger Waterer
I. Whatley
I. Wheler

Geffrey Whittakers
"vvandering brethren, (vvandering starres)", who go "hither and thither / to and from England abiding in no certaine place."
Iohn Beacham
William Shepheard
Iohn Nicholas
Richard Paris
David Bristoe
William Houlder.

# XII

## TWO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE BARROWISTS AND THOMAS DRAKES

### [The "Seven Demands" of Francis Johnson and his Followers, 1595.][1]

SEVEN QVESTIONS which have ben propounded to divers of the Ministers of these assemblyes, with request that they would aunswer them directly and syncerely from the Scriptures. Which also still is desired at theyr hands.

1 WHether the Lord Iesus Christ have by his last Testament given vnto and set in his Church, sufficient ordinary offices, with theyr calling, vvorks, and maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and

[1] First published on page 141 of [Francis Johnson's] "A TREATISE | [Device] Of the Ministery of the Church | of England. | Wherein is handled this question, | Whether it be to be separated from, | or joyned vnto. | ... | Also in the end of the treatise, | Some notes touching the Lordes prayer. | SEVEN QVESTIONS. | ..." The work is a quarto, chiefly printed in Gothic Letter. No date or place of printing is given, but on p. 137 at the close of the main text is the date 1595. In the above citation I do not distinguish between the Gothic and the Roman type.

Wil.[liam] Euring in his "Ansvver to the Ten Covnter Demands Propovnded by T. Drakes", 1619, fortunately gives on Sigs. $A_2$ verso, and $A_3$ recto and verso, a copy of the Barrowists' "7 Demands", and remarks that they had been "propounded" "some good space since". Euring modifies the text a good deal in section 2, and slightly in some of the other sections. Without Euring's copy the original publication of the "7 Demands" might never have been identified as Francis Johnson's "Seven Questions" printed almost twenty-five years before Drakes' "Ten Counter Demands". At this period the word "demand" evidently could be used as a synonym for the word "question".

for the sufficient ordinary instruction guydance and service of his Church, to the end of the world, or no?

2. Whether the offices of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers, be those offices appoynted by Christ in his Testament, as aforesaid? Or whether the present ecclesiasticall offices of Archbishops, Lordbishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Subdeanes, Prebendaryes, Chauncelors, Priests, Deacons or half Priests, Archdeacons, Subdeacons, Commissaryes, Officials, Doctors, Proctors, Registers, Scribes, Apparitors, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendaryes, Vagrant peachers, Chapleynes or howse priests, Canons, Petticanons, Gospellers, Epistlers, Chaunters, Virgerers, Queristers, Organ-players, Churchwardens, Sidemen, Collectors, Clerks, Sextans, and the rest now had in these Cathedrall and parishionall assemblyes, be those offices appoynted by Christ in his Testament, as is aforesayd, or no?

3. Whether the calling and entrance into these ecclesiasticall offices last aforesayd, theyr administration, and maintenance, now had and reteyned in England, be the maner of calling, administration, and maintenance, which Christ hath appoynted for the offices of his Church aboue named, or no?

4. Whether every true visible Church be not a company of people called and separated out from the world and the false worship and wayes thereof by the word of God, and ioyned together in fellowship of the Gospell, by voluntary profession of the faith and obedience of Christ? And whether the ecclesiasticall assemblyes of this land be such, or no?

5. Whether the Sacraments [being seales of righteousnes which is by faith] may be administred to any other then the faithfull and theyr seed, or in any other Ministery and maner thẽ is prescribed by Iesus Christ the Apostle and high Priest of our profession? And whether they be not otherwise administred in the Cathedrall and parishionall assemblyes of England at this day?

6. Whether the book of common prayer with the feasts, fasts, holy dayes stinted prayers and leiturgy, prescribed therein and vsed in these assemblyes, be the true worship of God commaunded in his word, or the devise and invention of Man, for Gods worship and service.

7. Whether all Churches and people (without exception) be not bound in religion onely to receyv ãd submit vnto that Ministery, vvorship, and order which Christ as Lord and King hath given ãd appoynted to his Church: Or whether any man receyv and joyne vnto another, devised by man, for the service of God? And consequently, whether they which ioyne to the present ecclesiasticall Ministery, vvorship, and order of these Cathedrall and parishionall assemblyes, can be assured by the word of God they ioyne to the former ordeyned by Christ and not to the latter invented by Man, for the worship and service of God?

¶ Let him that readeth, consider.

[Woodcut border at the bottom of the page]

[Sig. A recto] [Device]

*Αντερώτήματα Thomæ Draks.*[1]

TEN COVNTER-
DEMAVNDS PRO-
pounded to those of the Separati-
on, (or *English* Donatists) to be directly, and
*distinctly answered.*[2]

1. WHether, that their rent, Schisme, and Separation from the Church and Congregations of *England*, can (in any probabilitie) bee pleasing vnto God, seeing, it hath such vnhappy beginnings, the *a* first founder of it, comming to *Iudas* his shamefull and fearfull ende, hanging himselfe: and the *b* second totally recanting it, and reioyning himselfe to our

*Maister Bolton.*
*Maister Browne.*

[1] The "*s*" in "*Draks*" is very indistinctly printed and might easily be taken for an *i*, but I think that the reading here given is preferable.

[2] This work appears to have been composed of only four leaves and to have had no separate title-page. The last page is blank. No date and no place of printing are given, but the date is probably 1618 or 1619. It is uncertain whether the pages were numbered. There are a number of marginal corrections in the copy I have seen.

Church, as diuers of their proselites doe daily: seeing also it hath had so small encreases, and so many dismall and fatall euents, and diuisions: one side excommunicating the other, some of them turning Anabaptists, and *c* others dying and distracted, by reason of irresolution.

*Maister Nowell of Sheldon in Warwicke-shire, &c.*

2. Whether, that the quintessenced profession, Religion and discipline of these *Nouations* and *In-*

 *nouators,*



*nouators*, as it standeth in opposition to the Church of *England*, and the rest of the reformed Churches) can bee of God, or, haue any approbation from God, seeing that it hath no vertue, power and efficacy in it (as the Gospell preached in our English assemblies by Gods blessing abundantly hath) to winne, conuert, and drawe vnto their partie and profession, *Atheists*, *Papists*, *Heretikes*, *rude*, *profane* and *ignorant people*: The Apostles, Euangelists, and ther [marginal correction: their] holy successors, conuerted all sorts vnto God, but these refined reformers, onely seduce the sound, and peruert and estrange from vs, those, that are otherwise well affected, and of some vnderstanding and make them twofold more refractary then themselues.

3. Whether that (in the very separatists conscience) our reformed assemblies, (wherein the Gospell of Christ is sincerely preached and professed, and the Sacraments duly and rightly administred) are worse then the Iewes *Synagogues*, in which notwithstanding Christ his *Apostles* preached; & our *Ministers*, worse then the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that sat in *Moses* Chaire, when [marginal correction: whom] *Christ* commandeth the people to heare, and obserue and doe, whatsoeuer (according to *Moses* Lawe) they did bid them obserue. Wherefore (to reason *à minore ad maius*) if our Lord Iesus, his Disciples, and the people did not separate from their Synagogues and assemblies, that were in faith and maners farre more defectiue then ours are, much lesse ought they to separate from our Church and assemblies, wherein, all the grounds of Christian Religion are soundly held, and professed.

Mat. 23. v. 2. 3.

4. Whe-

[Sig. A 2 recto] *Ten Counterdemaunds.*

4. Whether that those great multitudes of people (though
Mat. 14. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. hitherto wanting the pretended Church-constitution of the Separatists) that euen fasting heard our Lord Iesus preach, and
Ioh. 6. 5. 10. 11. professed themselues his Disciples, (albeit many of them were drawen, not by doctrine but by miracles, report, & with a desire to be fed) can with any reason bee denied to bee members of
Ioh. 6. 27. the visible Church, and whither those three thousands [marginal correction: thousand] which blessed *Peter* at one Sermon conuerted (for they were baptized, continued in the Apostles doctrine, fellowship, breaking of bread and praiers.) were not, before that Presbyters and Deacons were chosen, true members of a visible Church, and this cannot bee refuted, and why are not our Church assemblies in *England*, (much more grounded in the truth) &c. a true visible Church? and then with what
Act. 2. 37. 38. 41. conscience, doe, or can these Separatists sequester and rent themselues from them?

5. Whether, (to ascend no higher, and neerer the Apostles to me [marginal correction: time] as I might) that in *Constantines* [marginal correction: *Constantine*] the first Christian *Emperours* time, and euer since vnto M^r^. *Iohn Caluins* dayes, for the space of some thirteene hundred yeares, there was no Christian Churches in *Asia*, *Africke*, *Europe*, because they had the same outward constitution, formal State, *Bishops*, *Archbishops*, *Metropolitans*, & Church-gouernment (for substance and substance of doctrine) that our English Church hath, and retaineth. And if those were true visible Churches, why are not ours (also?)

6. Whether, that the reformed Churches in the

 lower

[Sig. A 2 verso] *Ten Counterdemaunds.*

lower, and higher *Germany*, in *France*, the Church of *Geneua* &c. (that come neerer to their constitution and discipline, then ours doe in England,) bee true visible Churches, or no? if they be such, why then doe they not adioyne themselues to some of them, but distast them as much as they doe ours? And why

doe they not in iudgment assent vnto any or all of those reformed Churches, that with a ioynt consent (as may appeare by the harmonie of Confession [marginal correction: Confessions]) acknowledge the Church of England to be a true visible Church, and giue vnto it the right-hand of fellowship? how dare they refuse such a cloude of witnesses? will these *μονόσοφοι* put out all their eyes? is there no Church in the world but their Platonicall Idea?

7. How can the Church, or, Church-assemblies of England, bee false, Antichristian, bastardized, wherein the Gospell, is so soundly and solemnly and substantially taught and professed, and the Sacraments, so rightly administred and receiued, whose Bible translations, (specially the last English translation done by his Maiesty [marginal correction: Maiesties] command) are so pure, that the very Separatists rest in them: wherein are so many thousands, yea hundred thousands of true Converts and orthodoxe Christians, that hath bred and brought forth so many excellent and renowned *Martyrs*, who haue sealed the trueth of our religion with their bloud, and died members of the protestant Churches; wherein so many Christian *exiles* are comfortably harboured, wherein so many sound, religious and learned *Pastors*, *Doctors*, *Preachers*, as (for proportion) no Country in the world

can



can afford the like; and by whose doctrine, writings, disputes, (not to speake of the Magistrates sword) the *Romish Ierico* hath bin more shaken, and the second beast the Antichrist, more fatally wounded, then by any nationall Church whatsoeuer: and which Church, and the members thereof, haue beene so wonderfully blessed and protected, and so strangly deliuered from the rage, tumults, designes, treasons, conspiracies of the Romish Antichrist and all his adherents: and in which Churches (as one of the princiall [principall] Separatists I. R. [? Iohn Robinson] in his admonition *ad lectorem*, in his owne name and in the name of his faction, lately prefixed before the third booke of M. Robert Parker, de politia ecclesi. [title underlined by the

corrector] pag. 368. confesseth, that the grace of God by the Gospell, in respect of the cheife heads of true Christian faith, by diuers of the faithfull preached, doth so abound, that there are very many godly and holy men in these assemblies, both of Reformitants and Conformitants, which they acknowledge for brethren in Christ &c. We haue (by their owne confession) sound faith, and holinesse, why then doe they or how dare they sunder and rent themselues from such a Church, and why will they for accidents and circumstances, denie and renounce the substance of a Church? And if they (vpon bettercõsideration [*sic*]) esteẽe [marginal correction: esteeme] vs brethren, with what warrant cã they seperate from holy brethren in Christ, *is it not good and pleasant for to see brethren to dwell together in vnitie?* Did not the conuerts in S. Peters dayes continue dayly with one accord in the Temple &c. And why doe not our Separatists[,] who would

be

[Sig. A 3 verso] *Ten Counterdemanunds.* [sic]

accounted? [*sic*, and the interrogation point has been crossed out by the corrector] conuerted Saints[,] imitate them. must wee
Act. 2. 46. leaue and forsake a goodly Cittie, for the weaknesse of *the walls?*

8. How can the formall state (as they call it) of the *Prouinciall, Diocesan, Cathedrall & Parishionall* Churches of England, and the regiment thereof, be vnlawfull, papall, Antichristian? And how doe, or, can the Lawes of the land, and Ecclesiasticall Cannons confirme it? seeing that the name, calling & office of BB: [Bishop] whether we respect ordination of ministers or power of iurisdiction, is (as hath ben, & will be proued) for substance expressed in diuers places of the new Testament; seeing, it hath had a continuall succession from the Apostles time to this day, as all auncient Fathers and Counsells acknowledge: and seeing that (at least) this formall estate of *Diocesan, Parishionall* and *Cathedrall* Churches, hath
Anno. 1607. bin in vse, long before Antichrist was hatched, for the Pope was not Antichrist before he had gotten the Title of vniuersall Bishop, nor complete vntill he had gotten into his hands both swords, that is, both Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall *Dominion*: Doth

not euery Bishop amongst vs, euery Pastor and ecclesiasticall officer, abiure the *Prpes* [marginal correction: *Popes*] vsurped supremacie? Doe not our statutes, and Cannons directly make againg [marginal correction: against] papistry and Idolafry [marginal correction: Idolatry]? What will Sathan expell Sathan, and will the members of Antichrist fight against Antichrist? And admitt all bee, as you pretend, doe we not (at least) kill Antichrist with his owne sword and weapons?

9. Whether, any new lawes can, or ought to be enacted, or any further reformation made without

the

[Sig. A 4 recto] *Ten Counterdemaunds.*

the Christian Princes or Magistrates consent, or euer in a well ordered Church hath bene enacted, or made [marginal correction: ":"] and whether, they haue done well, to seperate with, [*sic*, with the comma crossed out by the corrector] out the Kings Maiesties leaue and licence, and consent of the state?

10. Whether, it were not the separatists best course, toreturne [*sic*] to Gods true Church and people, from which (vpon some concealed hard dealing) they haue made an vnlawfull rent, and therein to confer with the best learned, and if still their consciences be somewhat tender, to supplicate for some fauour and liberty, or if they will not take this course, whether it were not good for them, for the avoiding of scandall, and in expectance of some prosperous successe, by the permission of our noble King, and honourable Counsell:[1] to remoue into *Virginia*, and make a plantation there, in hope to conuert infidels to Christianitie?

FINIS.

[1] *Sic*, but the colon has been crossed out by the corrector.

# XIII

## PAPERS OF HENRY JACOB'S WRITTEN DURING THE YEARS 1603—1605

[A Copy of the Text of Henry Jacob's Letter to the Puritan Preachers, sent from Woodstreet, London, on June 30, 1603, with the accompanying form to be signed for use in connection with the presentation of the Millenary Petition to King James I.][1]

Moreover I ame to let you vnderstand, y^t^ many learned and godly ministers *are about to exhibite* to y^e^ Kings ma*iest*ie à Petition, for the reformation of thing*es* amisse to o*ur* Church. Whervnto à consent of as many, as conveniently we can gett, is very behooefull [?]. my opinion and truste is concerninge you, that you wilbe, not only à p*ar*taker, but also à furtherer of this Christian dewty; I haue sent you heere inclosed, y^e^ forme to be subscribed by all such as haue good-will [?] to this purpose./ I praye you, let me haue an awnsweare [?] heerof from you, asone [as soon] as you may; with so many of your well affected frends hands therevnto as shalbe thought good./ It is not intended, that your names shalbe rashly shewed to any mans pr*e*iudice, but reserved to a fitt opportunity, if we shall p*er*ceaue that they altogether beinge brought forth, will further o*ur* desires and sute; of y^e^ good succese wherof, we conceave good hope, thank*es* be to god./ Thus beseechinge god to keepe and sainctify vs for his service and to geue vs Wisedome in all

[1] Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 254.

thinges. I bid you hartely farewell. Woodstreet in London. 30. of Iune 1603.

Yours to his powre,

Henry Iacoob

I could Wishe you to conferre with
D^r^. Airey about this matter.

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The copie of Henry Iacoob his letters, Written to procter Dale; and by him shewed to m^r^ Searchfeeld.—5. Iulij. and by him shewed, to .R. H.—6°. Iulij. 1603.

The copie of the subscription

We whose names are vnder Written, doe agree *to make our humble* petition to y^e^ Kings ma*iestie* that y^e^ *present state of our Church* may be further *reformed in all things* needfull accordinge to the rule of god*es* holy woord, and agreeable to example of other reformed Churches, which haue restored both the doctryne and disciplyne, as it was *deliuered by our Sauior Christ*, and his holy Apostells.

[The Text of a later, undated, general Letter, also sent from Woodstreet by Henry Jacob with an abbreviated text of the earlier form of subscription and a list of abuses which the Puritans wished removed.]

["M^r^ Iacobs | papers."][1]

Reverend, & wellbeloved, notwithstanding I suppose you have ben already written vnto, or at at [*sic*] the least have ben

[1] MS. 113, fol. 242–253, in Lambeth Palace Library, London, first published by me in "The Review and Expositor" (Louisville, Kentucky) for October, 1907, pp. 489–513, under the title, "Lost Prison Papers of Henry Jacob." This letter, as well as all the following documents here included relating to Jacob, are to be found in the above-mentioned pages of this one manuscript. One paper entitled, "Kneeling in y^e^ very act of Eating and Drinking | at the L. Table is simply evill", as well as some minor jottings by Jacob, I have not attemped to present here.

com*m*unicated with by those who have ben written vnto by som from hence to p*ro*cure a consent of the faithfull Ministers of yo*u*r Country [?] according to y^e^ tenure [?] of y^e^ inclosed, yet I thought good againe & that by advice of others heere with vs by a word or two to stirre vp yo*u*r godly minds to this necessary duty, & the rather because they to whom the blemishes of o*u*r Church are p*ro*fitable & in their conceipt honorable leve no stone vnremoved to hinder a further reformation. Besides the tyme draweth neere wherein the declaration of yo*u*r consent in y^is^ busynes will be of great vse, & therefore y^e^ matter requireth the more expedition. It is not intended y^t^ yo*u*r names, w*h*ich we desyre to be sent vp hither, shall be rashly shewed to yo*u*r prejudice, but reserved to a fit opportunity if vpon the exhibiting of o*u*r peticion the same shall be found expedient for y^e^ furtherance of o*u*r cause, of y^e^ good successe whereof we conceave good hope thanks be to God. Thus beseeching God to keepe & sanctify vs for his service & to Give vs wisdom in all things I bid you hastily farewell. Woodstreet in London.

We whose names are vnderwritten do agree to make &c holy word. ——. And agreeably &c Apostles. —— In particular we desyre the removing of the Ecclesia*stica*ll Courts, y^e^ dumb & idle ministers, Nonresidencyes, offensive & superstitious Ceremonies, Subscription beyond Law, the Oth ex Officio, Excom*muni*cation for trifles, by Lay men, &c.

If any think not good to go so far as the example of other Churches &c let them stay at the first line. If any thinke good to descend into particulars let y^em^ go beyond y^e^ 2 line, & reckon vp as many & as few as they please.

[An undated Petition written by Henry Jacob to the Bishop of London, requesting that he may be released from imprisonment in the Clink.][1]

I humbly beseech yo*u*r Lordship [the Lord Bishop of London] to consider Christianly of my estate. I am com*m*itted by yo*u*r

[1] This petition appears to have been written not long before April 3, 1605.

selfe & others in authority with you for publishing my Treatise, which is written only in way of Reasoning & not inveyghing against our Church Traditions. I vse not therein any detractation or reproch any way: I do but argu[e ?] & reason the matter, being no new but an ancient controversy amon[g] vs. I beseech you waigh with your selfe, what evill is there in th[is ?] wherin nothing is said but only against Ecclesiasticall Vnwritten Traditions. Specially considering the Evidence which is...against them, the consent of many Christian Churches & Writers, my faithfull care to give heerein to Cesar whatsoever is Cesars & to God that which is Gods, the necessit[y ?] of mine owne defense & purgation as also this present time of y^e^ Kings first entrance, & other circumstances[1]. I hope it is not vnlawfull nor new for Christian Subjects lowly to desyre reformation of such things at the Princes hands. Besids it would have ben thought y^t^ The[re ?] had ben small feare of God in vs or respect to y^e^ Scriptures honour against vnwritten Traditions (for so still [?] I say we do conceave of this whole matter) if no[ne ?] of vs had now spoken in this cause. We are condemned by many, & verily we oug[ht] so to be as Schismatikes & contentious persons if we should differ from you & yet gi[ve] forth vnto y^e^ world no Reasons of our difference. While we were silent & sai[d] nothing we were insulted vpon for a long time togeather. Now when one of vs doth...some Reasons with all due respect, is it an offense to do it? We have consciences desyrous to serve God by y^e^...of his word which move vs to do this thing. Gods word only stayeth y^e^ conscience: & these Reasons included [?] are built only...vpon. Let y^e^ Reasons therefore [?] be... answered [as ?] you sayed vnto me y^t^ they shalbe; & then let obstinacie & perversnes where it is found be censured. The Kin[gs ?] first entrance & setling among vs (whom God long preserve) requireth also of vs that we should shew causes if we will dissent from others: chiefly sith he hath often signifyed he will reforme whatsoever can be shewed contrary to Gods word. Yea he hath specially willed vs to...by patience & well grounded Reasons to perswade all y^e^ rest to like of our ju[dg ?]ments. How can we perswade all y^e^ rest to like

[1] I give in this place what seems to have been the original text.

of *our* judgm*en*ts, but by publishing Reasons to al[l ?] And now [?] seeing I have don no more I beseech you let not y$^{s}$ seame so great a fault. Further y$^{e}$ pr[o]vokings of many & their vrging vs to shew som reasons, yea their plaine affirming y$^{t}$ we have nothing to say for *our* selves, w*hi*ch not only in speach they expresse very often in most frequent & honorable Assemblies, also in a nomber of printed bookes, togeather w*i*th y$^{e}$ generall expectation of all men at y$^{s}$ season wi[ll ?] excuse (I hope) y$^{is}$ y$^{t}$ I have don humbly & dutifully. But more y$^{en}$ y$^{is}$ the Answer from Oxford to y$^{e}$ Ministers [? pe]tition hath vanely traduced me as a schismatike in y$^{is}$ respect. Doth not all equitie & religion per[mit ?] me correspondently to publish Reasons for my necessary cleering ? I beseech y*our* Lordsh*ip* waigh w*i*th y*our* self these things indifferently. moreover my booke is dedicated to y$^{e}$ King to whose godly co[nsi]deration & clemency I do alltogeather submit my selfe. His Ma*jes*tie I hear hath a good while sinc[e] taken knowledge of it. I doubt not his grace is minded y$^{t}$ my Reasons (whatsoever they be) should by better grounds of Divinity [be ?] reproved before I should be thus punished. In my Treatise whatsoever words I have besides Argum*en*ts, they all tend to y$^{is}$ y$^{t}$ we should all dutifully seeke to his Majestie fo[r] reliefe to o*ur* consciences in this behalfe, who only hath authority vnder God to give generall redr[esse ?] in these things. Where[fore ?] I beseech y*our* L. to remember y$^{t}$ I freely & from my heart do give y$^{e}$ King his just & full supremacie over all persons causes ecclesiasticall whatsoever, reserving no jot of power heer but what is proper to Christ alone. viz. to be o*ur* absolut Prophet & sole Teacher in all matters of y$^{e}$ Church[.] If Humane discretion will...alone to warrant vs any thing of y$^{is}$ sort, we feare him who saithe [he ?] will not give any glory to an other. And who can think that Christs Testam*en*t is no perfecter in tea[ching ?] vs Church matters, then it is in shewing vs Civill ? In a word therefore, whatsoever I have wri[tten, (?)] or do hold, cometh to y$^{is}$ one point (w*hi*ch is y$^{e}$ old profession of Protestants) to refuse Vnwritten Ecclesiasticall Traditions or inventions of men. I do in this treatise no more, neither intend I any more, y$^{e}$ Lord is witnes. I say of all but as Cyprian said long ago of one Ec-

clesiasticall Tradition: Vnde est ista traditio? Vtrumnè de Dominicâ et Evangelicâ authoritate descendens, aut de Apostolicis preceptis et Epistolis veniens? Implying y^t^ otherwise it is to be refused whatsoever it be. And touching y^e^ true state of Christs Visible Church, as Chrysostom (if it be his) in y^e^ Vnperfect worke saith; Ecclesia cognoscite tantum odò per Scripturas. And as Augustin, Nec ego, nec tu, sed Christus interroget*ur* vt indicet Ecclesiam suam. Lege Evangeliu*m*, et respondet tibi &c. w*hi*ch I hope is no evill now for me to affirme likewise. And more y^en^ y^is^, or y^t^ w*hi*ch necessarily cometh from y^is^ I do not affirme. Last of all as I came to y*our* Lordship freely w*i*thout com*m*andeme*n*t when only my servant told me from y*our* messinger y^t^ y*our* L. would speake w*i*th me, so I beseech you deale kindly w*i*th me. I beseech you restore me to my poore wife & 4 small children, who w*i*thout my inlargeme*n*t are in much distresse.

Your Lorships humble suppliant
Henry Iacob prisoner in y^e^
Clink.

To the right reverend the Lord
Bishop of London.

[Henry Jacob's Copy of his Subscription.]

April. 4. An^o^. 1605.

Whereas allmost 3. quarters of a yeare since I published a booke intituled, Reasons taken out of Gods word &c. I do heere faithfully promise to disperse no more of them, nor to be a meanes that any other shall, but to hinder the dispersing of all that shall com into my power.

Also I do promise that I will not speak against y^e^ Church-governme*n*t & orders now among vs established by Law, for the time of my being vpon baile & till I shall see what Reasons against my opinion will com forth w*i*thin this halfe yeare. W*hi*ch if I shall perceave to be good & well grounded on Gods word, then I will speake for the said Church-governme*n*t & orders now established.

Howsoever, I will allwayes heereafter behave my selfe quietly, & as one carefull of the Churches peace, God assisting me.

Henry Iacob.

The first promise I may easily keepe, seeing I have none of those bookes left.
The second limiteth a time viz. within this halfe yeare, wherein I forbeare to speak against their orders. Yet in y^e^ meane while my booke speaketh my minde & judgment most plainly every where.
Thirdly I will allwayes heereafter behave myselfe quietly, which also I have don allwayes heeretofore, I praise God.

Let all men vnderstand that touching y^e^ first promise I may easily performe it, considering I have never a one of these bookes in my power nor am like to have: except only one which I have & will keepe for mine owne vse.

Touching the second I do promise within halfe a yeare not to speak against y^e^ publike orders in question. Neither yet in this while am I altogeather silent in the cause, for my booke speaketh sufficiently, & sheweth my judgment therein; which I still do hold, though for a time I cease to talke against y^e^ matters in question.

Touching the third I promise to behave my selfe quietly allwayes heereafter; which yet also I have don heeretofore, as my conscience beareth me witnes.

Whosoever do make any other sense of my words they do me wrong. Henry Iacob.

For the time of my baile shall be no longer if it like my selfe. I can appeare before Authoritie & so withdraw my baile at that time, if I think good, & if my baile cease not before. Besides the true construction of y^e^ very words do shew y^t^ halfe a yeare is the appointed & vttermost terme of this my promise. The 2. clauses are conjoyned & referred togeather to these words in y^e^ end of the sentence ["within this halfe yeare"]. Neither can there be any other perfect & proper sense of this whole speach. The Archbishop expresly said to me y^e^ day before [i.e., April 3,

1605.], y^t y^e maner of bailes is to be but for a time, & mine should be but for a time, & for no long time. Vnto y^is I have relation heere where I speake of the time of my being vpon baile.

[The earliest completely developed Independent, or Congregational, Puritan (non-separatist) Catechism in existence: written by Henry Jacob.][1]

Principles & Foundations
of Christian Religion.

---

1. Concerning God.

Question.

What doest thou believe concerning God? 1. God.

Answer.

I believe that There is [1.] one God [2.] Creator & [3.] Governor of all things; who is distinguished into the [4.] Father, the Sonne, & the Holy Ghost.

2. Concerning Man.

Question.

What doest thou believe concerning Man? 2. Man.

Answer.

All men by Nature are [1.] wholly corrupted with sinne through [2.] Adams fall; & so are become [3.] bond-slaves to Sathan, & subject to eternall damnation.

3. The Author & Principall Meanes
of Salvation.

Question.

What meanes is there to escape this damnable estate? 3. The Authour of salvation.

Answer.

The holy & heavenly meanes of salvation given vs of God are of 2. sorts. Principall, & Instrumentall.

[1] This Catechism, though undated, was evidently written in 1604 or 1605.

Question.

What is the Principall meanes?

Answer.

Hebr. 12. 2. I. Tim. 2. 5. I. Cor. 3. 10. Act. 4. 12. Ioh. 14. 6. Isa. 42. 8. I Tim. 3. 16.

The Principall meanes is Iesus Christ, (yea indeed he is the [1] whole Authour being the eternall Sonne of God & also true Man. who perfitly alone by himselfe accomplisheth all things that are needfull for the salvation of mankind.

4. The Instrumentall Inward meanes.

Question.

4. Our Instrumentall Inward meanes.

What are the Instrumentall meanes of Salvation?

Answer.

They are of 2. sortes: Inward, & Outward.

Question.

By what Inward meanes is a man made partaker of Christ & his benefits?

Answer.

A man of a [1] contrite & humble spirit by Faith alone apprehending & applying to himselfe [3] [*sic*] Christ in his 3. maine Offices (that is, as he is *our* Prophet, King, & Priest) with all his Merits in them, is justifyed before God & sanctifyed? [*sic*]

Question.

What is Christs Propheticall Office: or what did Christ for vs as he is *our* Prophet & Teacher. [*sic*]

Answer.

[1] Ioh. 4. 25 and 16. 13.

[1] He himselfe (in his owne word & Testament only) teacheth vs all things Religious as properly belonging to the Church, both Outward & Inward. Wherein standeth his whole true Worship, & the meanes of *our* salvation.

Question.

What is Christs Kingly Office. [*sic*]

Answer.

He himselfe alone [1] ruleth & guideth vs Spiritually. And this is called Christs [2] Kingdom of grace./

Question.

How may we further know this his Kingdom of Grace?

Answer.

Christs Kingdom of Grace heere in this life is of 2. sorts: Inward & Outward. And this later is the meanes & ordinary cause of the former.

Question.

Wherein standeth Christs Inward spirituall Kingdom?

Answer.

In that he ruleth & guideth *our* [1] hearts by his Spirit to the obedience of his Law, w*hi*ch is his word.

Question.

Wherein is his Outward Spirituall Kingdom?

Answer.

In that by himselfe or by his Spirit in his Apostles w*hi*ch is all one, (& by none other) he constituteth & injoyneth the forme of all his Visible Churches w*i*th their Ministeries, & admitteth (wheresoever) none other. Also in that he ordinarily ruleth, guideth, & blesseth vs in them only by his owne Ministeries & ordinances, & by none other.

Question.

What is Christs Priestly Office?

Answer.

To offer vnto God a Sacrifice allsufficient for all *our* sinnes, w*hi*ch he did by his infinit Sufferings [?] in this life, & to make Intercession for vs in Heaven by vertue thereof for ever. And all this in his owne only person w*i*thout any other w*i*th him whomsoever.

[Question.]

Doth not Christ save vs only by his death & sufferings?

Answ.

No; He redeemeth vs in deed only by his death & Sufferings: but he is *our* Savi*our* & mediator by his Doctrine teaching vs, by his kingdom ruling vs, & by his death once vpon y^e^ Gibbet.

That is not by any one, but by all 3. his...& proper Offices apprehended & applyed to vs by a true faith.

Question.

What vse hath *our* Sanctification in this life?

Answer.

Our Sanctification, *our* Obedience to the Word, or our Good works have 2. vses./ 1. They are the fruits & sure witnesses of true faith justifying vs. 2. They are the high way necessary for all men to walke in vnto salvation.

5. The Instrumentall Outward Meanes.

Question.

5. Our Outward meanes. What are the ordinary Outward meanes given by Christ for his outward true worship & for *our* obtayning of faith & salvation?

Answer.

The ordinary Outward meanes (*which* Christ as *our* Prophet & King gave vs & sanctifyed for vs) are of 2. sortes: Generall, & Speciall.

Question.

What is the ordinary Generall meanes?

Answer.

The ordinary Generall meanes is, to be joyned a Member in som true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ.

Question.

Are there many in the world, or is there only one Vniversall Visible Church?

Answer.

In the time of the Law there was only one Visible Church vnder one High priest of the Iewes. But since the Gospell went out of Ierusalem into all the world, by y$^{e}$ Divine ordinance there allwayes have ben & are many in nomber, & not only One Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ, as the Catholiks do falsly believe.

Question.

How then do we say in the Creed; I believe the Catholik, y$^{t}$ is, the Vniversall Church?

Answer.

There we signify the Invisible Church Catholik, either Militant, or els the whole nomber of Gods Elect in Heaven & in Earth. It can not be contrary to y^e^ Acts & Writings of y^e^ Apostles, where a multitude of proper & distinct Ministeriall Churches are shewed vs: one at Corinth, an other at Antioch, an other at Ephesus & many in Asia, many in Iudea, many in Galatia, Macedonia, &c. &c.

Question.

What is a true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ?

Answer.

A true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ is a particular Congregation being a spirituall perfect Corporation of Believers, & having power in it selfe immediatly from Christ to administer all Religious meanes of faith to the members thereof.

Question.

How is a Visible Church constituted & gathered?

Answer.

By a free mutuall" consent of Believers joyning & covenanting to live as Members of a holy Society togeather in all religious & vertuous duties as Christ & his Apostles did institute & practise in the Gospell. By such a free mutuall consent also all Civill perfect Corporations did first beginne. Math. 18. 19, 20.

Question.

If every particular Church be an intire Church & independent of any other, how shall Vnitie be *pre*served & obedience to Magistrats?

Answer.

Vnitie in conscience standeth not vpon one Church or Pastor over the rest, but vpon y^e^ one Word & Testament of Christ taught ordinarily by that Church vnto vs whereof we are; as Gods Ordinance is. Also thus [2]most easily [1]may y^e^ meanest next dwelling Magistrat [3]rule any Church in outward peace; yea in peace & concord of Religion far more easily & more readily then otherwise.

Question.

What are the ordinary speciall meanes of faith ?

Answer.

In speciall sort faith cometh only by y^e^ preaching of the word, & increaseth dayly by it, as also by the administration of the Sacraments, Discipline, & Prayer. And heerein consisteth the whole true outward Worshipping of God.

Question.

What is the Word that is preached vnto vs. [*sic*]

Answer.

It is the Word of God. That is, his Will & Testament revealed & confirmed vnto vs in y^e^ holy Scriptures only.

Question.

What is the effect & scope of the Scriptures ?

Answer.

Their scope is to specify & shew most perfectly all the wayes of worshipping God a right, & so also y^e^ whole meanes of our salvation.

Question.

Which are the holy Scriptures. [*sic*]

Answer.

The Bookes of y^e^ Prophets & the Apostles, called the Old & New Testament.

Question.

From what authority com they ?

Answer.

Those holy men of God (the Prophets & Apostles) writ them as they were inspired by y^e^ Holy Ghost.

Question.

How know we that they have Divine authoritie, & were written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost ?

Answer.

First the tradition of all times telleth vs so much. Secondly & chiefly the Heavenly matter contained in them vnder such simplicity of words doth now assure vs of it; with many other like reasons taken out of the Scriptures themselves.

Question.

What short Summe have we of all the holy Scriptures, as concerning any duty which we ought to do?

Answer.

The 2. Tables divided into 10. Commandements are a short & perfect Summe of all the Scriptures.

.....

.....[1]

Question.

Is there not then any outward thing Indifferent.

Answer.

Yea, there are many indifferent Civill matters. But of y^e^ parts of Divine Service & Church vse, there is nothing at all Indifferent. All such things are heere simply commanded or forbidden.

.....

Question.

How many Sacraments are there; or holy Signes?

Answer.

Two; Baptisme, & the Lords Table. One other also may be reckoned as a holy Signe of lesse dignity & inferior nature; y^t^ is, Laying on of hands. But beside these Christs Testament knoweth none.

Question.

Wherein standeth the Churches holy Government [?]

Answer.

In their Election of Ministers, & Their Spiritual Correction of offenders.

[1] The portions here omitted are questions and answers concerning the Commandments.

Question.

Is it Christs ordinance y^t^ y^e^ whole Church should Elect their Ministers, & Correct their Offenders?

Answer.

They are to do no more of necessity, & in their ordinary carriage, but freely to consen[t] to their Guides preparing & directing every matter.

Question.

What Ministers ought the Church to chose for her ordinary guidance & govern*ment*.

Answer.

A Pastor or Bishop, *with* Elders, & Deacons.

Question.

What is y^e^ Pastors Office?

Answer.

In Gods & in y^e^ Churches Name to administer the Wo[rd, (?)] the holy Signes, the holy Govern*ment*, & publik Prayer. Not any one, or so[me?] of these, but all.

Question.

What are the Elders?

Answer.

The Pastors assistants & coadjutors in y^e^ holy govern*ment*.

Question.

What are the Deacons?

Answer.

They are faithfull men trusted to gather & distribut y^e^ Church[es?] publik treasure for Ecclesiasticall vses.

Question.

Wherein standeth y^e^ Churches spirituall Correction of Offenders *which* is properly called the holy Discipline.

Answer.

In their Admonishing (twise or thrise at least) & Exhorting to repentance, & y^en^ in cutting of & Excom*m*unicating y^e^ vnrepentan[t.]

Question

What is Prayer?

Answer.

A Calling vpon God in *our* wants & necessities. Whereof y^e^ Lords Prayer is a perfect rule & direction for vs.

6. The End of all.

Question

What is the estate of all men after death? 6. The End of all.

Answer.

All men shall rise againe *with* their owne bodyes to the last judgment. W*hich* being ended, the godly shall possesse the Kingdom of heaven: but the Vnbelievers & wicked shalbe in Hell tormented *with* the Divell & his Angells for ever.

[A detached Definition by Henry Jacob of a "true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ".]

A true Visible or Ministeriall Church of Christ is a constant & comple[te ?] societie of Christians or spirituall Body politike ordayned by Christ in his word, w*hich* any one member the[re] of (having neede) may (& must on occasion) go vnto, consult *with*, heare & obey intirely & wholly togeather & yet *with* keeping due order & distinction of degrees the[y] all of them being vnited vnder one Ecclesiasticall govern*m*ent *with* themselves & proper vnto y^em^.

A third humble Supplication of many faithfull Subjects in England, falsly called Puritans directed to y^e^ Kings Ma*iest*ie. 1605[1].

In most humble wise doe beseeche y*our* Ma*iest*ie, a great nomber through out y*our* realme of y*our* Ma*iesties* sworne

[1] Only the title of this "Supplication" was originally written by Henry Jacob, but he evidently corrected it throughout. The document as at first drawn up contained six numbered sections, but Jacob does not seem finally to have approved of this arrangement. I give here therefore the corrected text. The title as originally written was "The second humble Supplication...."

loyall subiectes and most dutifull people. Forasmuch as wee are in conscience throughly perswaded, that Gods most holy word in the New Testament is absolutely perfect, for delivering the whole maner of Gods worship, the holy government & forme of all his Churches, particularly specifying vnto vs all things whatsoeuer, both inward and outward, great and small therein as y^e^ Old Testament did vnto the Iewes, Except only meere circumstances of Tyme, Place, Person &c which have ben, are, and must be variable by necessity of nature; So that wee cannot perceiue anie humane Ecclesiasticall tradition whatsoever, as being simply without Gods word, to be lawfull. And yet we your Maiesties said loyall Subjects are forced against our consciences to submit our selves to such vnlawfull Traditions & Inventions of men in y^e^ Churches government, ministery, & Divine Service, to the high displeasure of Allmightie God against vs, and the ruine of y^e^ soules of many. Considering also that this is a point singularly making to the honor of Christ Iesus, and to the magnifying of his loving care for his Churches, namely to believe that he left vs his word so perfect (as hath ben said) in all things Ecclesiasticall and touching the Soule: & contrariwise greatly derogating to Christs personall most perfect Propheticall Office, & also to his Kingly Office to say y^t^ he hath not in his word so perfectly provided for vs, but hath left sundry of these things to y^e^ discretion of men. And because thus indeed to honor Christ and his word as by this meanes wee shall and ought to doe, no way harmeth the State nor the Princes authority, peace, & [Marginal note: "See our Protestation of y^e^ Kings Supremacie."] security; but doth truly advaunce & blesse all estates, when they shew them selves helpfull & favorable herein. And Considering that it maketh singularly to vnity and agreement in Religion, when our wholl forme of Ecclesiasticall orders & exercise of religion shall be held by vs to be specifyed exactly in Scripture. Which happy fruit appeareth comfortably in all those Christian Churches of this day y^t^ do want those Traditions & Humane Hierarchie which are among vs. As namely in the in the [*sic*] well ordered and peaceable Churches of the French and Dutch, which by your Maiesties gracious protection and allowaunce doe liue within

your Realme, and also in all the Churches of the Countryes of Fraunce Scotland, Low Countryes, and your Maiesties owne Ilands of Iersey and Garnsey. In these it is much to be regarded (to Gods great praise be it spoken) that there are no open dissentions in matters of religion among them selves but most rare concord; which wee think cannot be, nor ever wilbe found elswhere, where humane Tradicions are professedly observed besides Gods word. As wee see by experience here in England, where grevious distraction of myndes among our selves in pointes of religion appeareth, only because wee are not resolved (as it doth seeme) simplie and absolutely to rest on the written word.

All which things considered, as also that wee your Maiesties sworne loyall subiectes aforesaid haue ben now a great manie Yeres grevously afflicted and molested, defamed, impoverished, yea and otherwise extraordinarily punished, for no other cause in the world, but only for our conscience in the matter before rehersed, which yet wee cannot discerne, but that it is a most Christian, holy, and right opinion. Therfore it may please your gracious Maiesty of your Princly regard towards the glory of God and vs your ever faithfull subiectes, to tolerate and to graunt vnto so manie of vs as shall declare that our consciences are in this respect constreyned and bound before God, to Assemble togeather somwhere publikly to y^e^ Service & Worship of God, to vse & enioye peaceably among our selves alone the wholl exercyse of Gods worship and of Church Government viz. by a Pastor, Elder, & Deacons in our [?] severall Assemblie[s] without any tradicion of men whatsoeuer, according only to the specification of Gods written word and no otherwise, which hitherto as yet in this our present State we could never enjoye.

Provided alwayes, that whosoeuer will enter into this way,
1 shall before a Iustice of peace first take the oath of your
Maiesties supremacy & royall authority as the Lawes of y^e^
2 Land at this present do set forth the same; And shall also
afterwards keepe brotherly communion with the rest of our
English Churches as they are now established, according as
3 the French and Dutch Churches do; And shall truly pay all
paymentes and dutyes both ecclesiasticall and civill, as at this

present they stand bound to pay in anie respect whatsoever;
4 And if anie trespas be committed by anie of them whether Ecclesiastically or Civilly against good order and Christian obedience; That then the same person shalbe dealt withall therein by anie of your Maiesties Ciuill Magistrates, and by the same Ecclesiasticall government only wherevnto he ordinarily ioyneth him self, according as to Iustice apperteyneth, and not to be molested by anie other whomsoever.

Most humbly beseeching your Maiestie with all, to forbid others to revile vs, & to accuse vs of comitting schisme in this doing. which iustly wee know they cannot accuse vs of. Considering that wee doe not pretend herein to haue anie thing but that which the Scripture deliuereth even by the opinion of the learnedest that mislike our desyer, Considering also that this is the wholl somme of that which wee professe in our differing from our bretheren, namely that the Scriptures are absolutely perfect for vs forever in matters Ecclesiasticall: And this wee are well assured is no Schismaticall assertion. Neither shall it seeme strange wee hope that wee crave here of your Maiestie, & of your most honorable Counsell this benefit in Religion only for some, namely for those whose consciences are perswaded herein; doing by this practise otherwise then heeretofore we have don. For seeing wee see, that numbers of Christians of all degrees in England are not yet perswaded of this Article of religion (as wee are, and as, wee in the presence of God cannot otherwise choose but be) of whome notwithstanding wee hold our selves bound to think brotherly & charitably: & because we are vndoubtedly sealed in our consciences that for vs there is no way of religion to save our soules by ordinarily but only to walke in this way...instituted by Christ in his word. Therefore wee haue thought it best humbly & instantly to seek & crave the same for our selves in maner and forme as is before shewed. Which being graunted by your gracious Maiesty and by your said most honorable Counsaill it shall doubtles giue much comfort and peace of conscience to manie most loyall subiectes, and shall preiudice no other Protestant whose iudgment is not herein yet informed, & shall procure to y^e^ most Excellent Governours

of our State everlasting praise both with God & all good men.

[Part of a Paper apparently written by Henry Jacob nearly a year after his Release from the Clink, and defending his book published in 1604 against the five principal criticisms which had been brought against it.]

A yeare now allmost past being in trouble for publishing my little Treatise, intituled *Reasons taken out of Gods word & y^e best Humane Testimonies proving a Necessitie of Reforming our Churches in England*, I had this answer given me by men in great authoritie, that all the grounds of those my *Reasons* should be shaken & overthrowen by a man of knowen learning who (as I vnderstood otherwise also) had taken in hand the same, & would quickly do it. In y^e meane while my Treatise was sharply censured by sundry of all sorts in divers points. But specially in these following: 1. Because I resolve vpon this conclusion, y^t Only a particular ordinary Congregation of Christians, & every such Congregation in y^e New Testament is appointed & reckoned to be a visible Church...2. Because I affirme y^t our Ceremonies in controversie in England are parts of Gods Outward worship & Service, albeit invented by men.... 3. Because I expound those words of Christ Tell y^e Church math. 18. 17. of a whole Church intirely & properly taken, as it containeth not only y^e Guides but y^e people also....4. Because I affirme that No Synod vnder y^e Gospell hath power by Gods ordinance to prescribe & rule Ecclesiastically sundry whole Churches if they severally consent not...5. Because in my Epistle to y^e Pastors of y^e Churches in England pag. 81. I vse these words; *Looke to your charge, fullfill your Ministerie wch yo^u have receaved of y^e Lord.* Wherein som gathered y^t *I exhort y^e Pastors of y^e Severall Churches in England* who do hold themselves [2]to be *rightly & truly Pastors of their severall flocks*, & [1]not *y^e Diocesan Bishops Curats & Substitutes*, but [3]themselves to *have properly y^e charge of their peoples Soules*; that they should *fullfill their Ministerie*, y^t is, set vp & exercise y^e Ecclesiastical Discipline among yem whether y^e King will or no. To this last point I will first answer. My

meaning & intent in this place is nothing so. But only to do as in y^e^ next page I do plainly expresse; *to seeke vnto God by prayer & to our most wise & noble King by humble & earnest Suit, both for their owne, for their peoples, yea & for Christs due right.* Which indeed if they obtaine not, then to *consider how they can be in such an Office & not to do y^e^ Office, nor intend to do it.* For so they do not, whosoever remaineth & continueth therein still not medling with y^e^ holy Discipline & government meerely Ecclesiasticall touching his more particular flocke. And yis albeit I answered by mine owne hand writing heeretofore to y^e^ Archbishop of Canterbury privatly, yet I thought it needfull also even in publik to deliver the same. As concerning y^e^ other severall matters before going I answered then in y^e^ time of my trouble, y^t^ if I should perceave from any man Reasons given contrary to my present resolution such as should be *good & well grounded on Gods word*, then I would by Gods grace change my judgment therein. And I promised also, (y^t^ it might appeare how ready I was to all Christian reason,) y^t^ for a time I would stay my selfe & see what would be brought against my opinion by any man within halfe a yeare, notwithstanding it was given out y^t^ out of hand [?] my small treatise should be shaken to pieces. Nothing whereof is performed, nor so much as likely to be performed for ought I heare....[1]

[1] Later in this MS. Henry Jacob begins an answer to the first four criticisms of his book mentioned above, but this part of his papers only covers two pages, and the presence of these MSS. in Lambeth Palace may indicate that they had been suddenly seized. This document suggests to me that Jacob may have gone to Holland in 1606, instead of in 1605, as I state in Vol. I., p. 290.

# XIV

## AN UNNOTICED LETTER OF THOMAS HELWYS'S

XXVI$^{th}$ of September 1608
A note sent by [Thomas] Ellwes [Helwys] one
of thelders of the Brownest
Churche, sent to his bretherne[1]

I desire to certefie yo$^{u}$ some thinge howe matters goe here [in Amsterdam] w$^{th}$ vs, and that concerninge the differences betwixt o$^{r}$ bretherne and vs, And therefore we Differ in parte in the mẏnistrie, worshipp, Goverment, & Treasurẏ [?] Theire ministrie consisteth of Pastors & Teachers, o$^{rs}$ of Pastors only, & we approve of no other officers in the ministrẏ but of Pastors. They as partes or meanes of worship read Chapters Text*es* to preache on, & Psalmes out of the translatioñ, we alreddẏ as in prayinge, so in prophesiinge [?] & singinge Psalmes laye aside the translac*i*on, & we suppose yt will prove the truth, that All book*es* even the originall*es* them selves must be laẏed aside in the tyme of spirituall worshipp, yet still retaẏninge the readinge, & interpretinge of the Scripturs in the Churche for the preparinge to worshipp, Iudginge of doctrine, decidinge of Controversies as the grounde of o$^{r}$ faithe & of o$^{r}$ whole profession And thus we refuse not to vse the translatioñ, holdinge them notwẏthstandinge muche inferẏor to the originall*es*. And this we professe & thereof I desire yo$^{u}$ to take notice, and to give notice to as manẏe as possiblẏ yo$^{u}$ can, This I assure yo$^{u}$ is the truth of o$^{r}$ causes nowe in controu*er*sie, whatsoeu*er* yo$^{u}$

[1] MS. 709, fol. 117, recto and verso, in Lambeth Palace Library. This introductory description of the letter is written on the back of it in another hand.

heare to the contrarẏ, And hereof assure yo$^{r}$ self as farrforth as yo$^{u}$ thinke there is any truth in me. / Nowe concerninge the Goverment, they holde that the presbetorẏ Consisteth of pastors, Teachers, & Rulinge elders Wee holde it Consisteth of pastors onlẏ / For the Threasurẏ theẏ suffer them that are without to Comunẏcate together with them, and doe not sanctefie theire Almes with praẏer, wee make a seperacion of our Almes from the giftes of Strangers, whiche wee thankfullẏ receave And wee sanctefie the whole Actioñ by praẏer, before & after, as all the ordenances [?] of God ought to be. / of theis thinges [?] if God permitte [?] Yo$^{u}$ shall here more at lardge.

[monogram or marks meaning] T H [?]

# XV

## PAPERS RELATING TO WILLIAM SAYER

The opinions defended & published by William Sayer[1] imprisoned in the gaole for the Countie of Norff[olk], be hereticall, scismaticall, & disloyall, & so seuerally may be distinguished.

[Evidently written by "Io: Redmayne", "this xxv$^{th}$ of Nouember 1612."]

1. The Baptisme of Infants is meerely vnlawfull, by the word of God, for that they have no actuall faithe.
2. A Christian man maye weare weapons and serve in warres at the Commaundement of the magestrate, against such as be enemies to the Church of God, which is only y$^{e}$ Church of the separation from the Church of England; and to beare armes or serve in warres against any which are of his opinion is vnlawfull by y$^{e}$ word of God/
3. That it is vnlawfull to take an oath before any ecclesiasticall officer, though it be to the detecting of a Iesuite, or an heretick, or making knowne his brothers offence being a delinquent
4. That it is vnlawfull to sue in any Criminall cause, before an ecclesiasticall magestrate; neither ought any heretique to be accused or sued for that offence of heresie before any Bishop, but before the Church, which he sayth are y$^{e}$ elders.
5. The Kinges maiesties aucthoritie graunted to Bishops for y$^{e}$ punishment of offenders, is meerely vnlawfull by y$^{e}$ word of God; neither can they have any cognizaunce of Criminall causes, or of any offender therein, though the Cause be of ecclesiasticall Cognizaunce (as they pretend./.

[1] Add. MS. Mm. 6. 58 (fol. 180), in the University Library, Cambridge.

6. His ma*iesti*e hath no power by the word of God, to graunte any Iurisdicc*i*on for the Cognizaunce of Causes to any prelat*es* or priest*es*: And that his auc*thori*tie therein is vnlawfull & not warranted by the worde of God.
8. [7.] The Calling of the ministers in the Church of England, is vnlawfull & not according to the word of God /.

> He refuseth to recant & abiure publiquely his first defence, & publishing of his deniall of the Godhead of Iesus Christe & of the holie ghost; & obstinately p*er*sisteth in the defence of the former opinions; & saieth that he will never retreate, recant, & abiure his deniall of the Godhead of the twoe former p*er*sones in Trinitie before any eccle*siasti*call Iudge or magestrate /

The Iudiciall p*ro*cesse vsed against him, have bene often in all mildenesse & lenitie. Greate care had for his better instrucc*i*on by often conf*er*ence privately, & publiquely by learned & discreete divines but still he continueth obstinate, & will not submitt him self, or be reformed; but proudly p*eruer*teth & interpreteth all scriptures, for the mainteyning & defence of his opinions, according to his owne vnderstanding & sense. And though in some point*es*, as touching the lawfull bearing of armes, taking of an oath, and sueng [sueing] in any Controu*er*sye; he seeme to approve the power & authoritie of the Civill magestrate yet when he is interrogated whom he meaneth or taketh for such a magestrate; he restrayneth that word, to the elders of the Church of the sep*ar*ation /

[Part of a letter of G:(eorge Abbot, Archbishop of) Cant:(erbury) to John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, dated "Lambithe [?] Decemb: j. *1612*", concerning William Sayer.][1]

My very good lo:[rd] I haue receaved yo*ur* le*ttr*e making mention of one William Sayer a desperate Hereticque, who out of malice rather then out of vnderstand*ing* mainteineth manie prophane & scismaticall opinions. Those .8. positions conteined in the inclosed paper, are the doctrines of the

[1] Add. MS. Mm. 6. 58 (fol. 181, recto), in the University Library, Cambridge.

Baroists & Sep*a*ratists of this Age, but ioyned w*i*th some points of the Anabaptists;.....But it will neu*er* be assented to, that hee should burne as an Hereticque, vnlesse hee denie something expressly conteyned in the three Creeds or in the foure first Generall-Counsells. I doe finde an obscure mention in the later p*ar*te of yo*ur* paper, as if this Sayer had denyed the Godhead of Christe, and of the Holie ghoste. If hee p*er*sist obstinately therein, the Lawe will holde of him, as it did this last yeare vpon Legate, and Wightman, to frie him at a Stake. But it is not clearly deliu*er*ed what hee affirmeth in those points, and therefore I can giue no certein answer vnto it.

# XVI

## DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH ANABAPTIST CONGREGATIONS

[An undated Letter sent by "Hughe and Anne Bromhead" to their cousin, (Sir) William Hammerton, at London, probably written some time in 1609.][1]

This Brownists letter idle vile and vayne
I doe protest Ile nere read or'e againe./[2]

Grace with Increase of grace, peace even from the father and god of peace, with all true *com*forte and *con*solation In Iesus Christe be w$^{th}$ you beloved Cosen and all yours, and that forever [?]. Beloved Cosen we receyved A letter from you dated the xiij of Iulie wherin you write that you expect an answer from vs of the said letter. The first p*ar*t of yo*ur* letter is, that leaving oure Countrie we removed to Amsterdam, w$^{ch}$ removing was, you hope, but to make tryall of the Countrie. Cosen we gyve you to vnderstande that though Natura hominis est novitatis avida,.....A seconde p*ar*t of yo*ur* letter is that you wold p*er*swade vs to returne home into England, which you make no Question wold be much pleasing [?] to god, but we make great Question therof yea we [?] hold it w$^{th}$ow$^{t}$ all Question, the same [?] should be much and highly displeasing

[1] Harl. MS. 360 (fol. 70–1), in the British Museum. Portions of this MS. are now so faded as to be almost illegible. An attempt is here made to reproduce only certain parts. In Vol. I., p. 236, I assigned this letter to the autumn of 1608, but that date now appears to be too early. (See Mr Burgess's "John Smith", London, 1911, pp. 169–70.)

[2] This couplet is in a different, but contemporary, hand-writing. Mr Burgess misreads "alle" for "idle" ("John Smith", p. 169).

vnto vnto [*sic*] oure good god and father, that hath in his mercifull providence brought vs ow$^{t}$ of Babilon the Mother of all abhominations the habitation of devils [?] and the holde, of all foule spirites [?] and A cage of every vncleane and hatefull birde :.....
.....In oure Cosen [?] Nicholas, we can but be sory and lament his fall wishing him to remember...and good vse of the wordes of the apostle paul vnto the gala. .3 .3. verse and also of the wordes of the apostle peter in his .2. epistle .2. 10 [?]. 20 21 [?] & 22 [?] verses, yet we hope better thinges of him and such as accompany Salvation. Concerning the 4 parte of your letter wherin you seeme to desire to know wherin your churche might be reformed although I know not herin, where to begynne or where to ende, the corruptions therof be so many and Infinitt [?], yet in some measure to satisfie your request I will geve you a vewe and taste of them but before I will geve you A brief Somme of the causes of oure Seperation and of our purpose in practise[1]. fyrst we seeke above all thinges the peace and protection [?] of the most high and the kingdome of oure lorde Iesus Christ .2.$^{lie}$ we seeke and fully purpose to worshippe god Aright according as he hath commaunded in his most holy worde .3.$^{lie}$ we seeke the felowshippe of his faithfull and obedient servantes and together w$^{th}$ them to enter Covenant w$^{th}$ the lorde, and by the direction of his holy Spirit to proceed to A godly free and right choice of Ministers and other officers by him ordeyned to the Service of his church .4.$^{lie}$ we seeke to establish and obey the ordinances and lawes of oure Saviour Christ left by his last will and testament to the governing and guiding of his church w$^{th}$ow$^{t}$ altering, changing, innovating, wresting, or leaving ow$^{t}$ any of them that the lorde shall gyve vs sight of .5.$^{lie}$ we purpose [(]by the assistance of the holy ghost) in this faith and order to lead oure lyves, and for this faith and order to leave [?] oure lyves if such be the good will of oure heavenly father. And 6.$^{lie}$ now that oure forsaking and vtter

[1] This part of the letter is evidently a citation taken from Barrowe and Greenwood's "A Plaine Refvtation", 1591 [ed. 1606], pp. 1–2. Mr Burgess has done well in calling attention to this point ("John Smith", pp. 172–73).

abandoning of these disordered assemblies as they generally stand [?] in England, may not seeme strange or offensyve [?] to any that will Iudge or be iudged by the word of god, we alledge and affirme that heinoush guiltie in these .4. principall transgressions. .i. they worshippe the true god after A false Maner the worshippe being made of the Invention of Man, even of that Man of Sinne, erroneus [?] and Imposed vpon them. .2. for that the prophane, vngodly...w$^{th}$ow$^{t\,?}$ exception of any one person, ar w$^{th}$ them receyved [?] into, and reteyned in the Bosome of the church[.] .3. for that they have A false & Antichristian ministerie imposed vpon them reteyned w$^{th}$ them and maynteyned by them .4. for that these churches ar ruled by and remayne in subiection vnd[er] an Antichristian, and vngodly goverment, contrarie to the institution of oure Saviour Christe [.(?)] for the better confirmation of these .4. we have thought good to add certayne argumentes .1. no Apocrypha must be brought into the publick assemblies, for there [?] only godes word and the lyvely voice of his owne graces must be heard in the publique assemblies. But mens writinges and the reading them over for prayer ar apocrypha, therfore may not be brought into the publique assemblies[.] .2. argument. we must do nothing in the worshippe of god w$^{th}$ow$^{t}$ warrant of his worde. but re$^{a}$dd prayers have no warrant in his worde. Therfore re$^{a}$dd prayers ar not to be vsed in the worshippe of god. .3. argument we may not in the worshippe of god receyve any tradition w$^{ch}$ bringeth oure libertie into bondage: Therfore readd prayer &c. .4. argument because true prayer must be of faith vtterred w$^{th}$ hearte and lyvely voyce, It is presumptuous Ignorance to bring A booke to speake for vs vnto god &c. 5. Argument to worshippe the true god after an other maner then he hath taught, is Idolatrie. but god commaundeth vs to come vnto him heavy loaden [?] w$^{th}$ contrite hartes to cry vnto him for oure wantes &c Therfore we may not stand reading A dead letter in steade of powring foorth [?] oure petitions. 6. argument we must stryve in prayer w$^{th}$ continuance &c but we cannot stryve in prayer and be importunate w$^{th}$ continuance reading vpon A booke, Therfore we must not reade when we should praye. 7. argument we must pray as necessi[tie ?] re-

quireth but stinted prayers cannot be as necessitie requireth, Therfore stinted prayer is vnlawfull. 8. Argument read prayers were devised by Antichrist and Maynteyne superstition and an Idoll Ministerie. therfore read prayers and such stinted service ar intollerable &c. 9. argument the prayers of such C[hristian ?]s and people as stand vnder a false goverment are not acceptable, not only because they aske [? ami]sse, but because they kepe not his commaundements. The prayers of such ministers and people as be [s]u[bie?]ct to antichrist ar abhominable. Th[o?]s[e?] ministers and people w$^{ch}$[?] stand subiect[?] to the [? Bisho]ppes and the Courtes[?] ar subiect to antichrist &c therfore the prayers &c / [?] Touching the last[?] part of your letter w$^{ch}$ concerneth the differences of these dayes, [?] the apostle paul saith he heareth that there be heresies among them that they w$^{ch}$ ar approved amongest them may be knowen, therby teaching vs that it is no new thing that differences in Religion ar in the church, for the end therof god often turneth to greater manifestation of his truthe & the furthering of the same, as also to the procuring much glorie to his owne Name and to the good of his church and children so tryed and approved. we reade in the prophecy of the prophet Isaiah these wordes, My beloved had a vyneyeard in A very fruitfull hill and he hedged it and gathered the stones ow$^{t}$ of it and he planted it w$^{th}$ the best plantes, and he built a tower in the mydest therof and made a wynepresse therin...he[?] looked that it should bring forth grapes but it brought forth wilde grapes, and in the same prophecy in an other place, he calleth them trees righteousnes the planting of the lorde [*sic*] that he might be glorified. now to make vse and application of these testimonies, if the vyneyearde and church of Israell w$^{ch}$ was of the lordes owne planting. and constitution brought foorth wilde grapes, what Marvell though your[?] church[?] Englande w$^{ch}$ is not of the lordes owne planting and constitution[?], but of Antichristes planting and of the constitution of the Man of Synne bring foorthe wilde[?] grapes...of Christe[?], do men gather grapes of Thornes or figges[?] of thistles[?], every good tree bringeth[?] foorth good fruite, And A corrupt tree bringeth forth evill fruite...fruite neither can A corrupt tree bring foo[rth] good

fruite, therfore by their [?] fruites ye shall knowe them...As the said prophet Isaiah spake of the people of the Iewes [?] so may we speake of the churche of Englande, from the Sole of the foote vnto the head, there is nothing hole therin but wounds, and swelling and sores, full of Corruptions, the whole heade is heavy. And we confidently deny that ever the English nation or any one of oure predecessors were of the king[dome ?] of Christe, or at any tyme beleved visibly in A true constituted church, but were come of the race of the pagans, till Rome the mother came and putt vpon vs her false baptisme worshippe and ministerie, and so oure [?]...is...paganish and the holy ghost in the scriptures compareth vs to the worst kynde of pagans calling [?] persons aapostating from the true constitution of the church, Babilonians, Egiptians Sodomites[..?] teaching vs the church of England that he estemeth no otherwise of the church or baptisme then of the Sinagoges of Babilon, then of the washinges of Egipt, then of the worshippe of Sodome, your church of England therfore being of Antichristes constitution is A false church. And can there be any thing [?] true in A false church but only the Scriptures and the truthes therin conteyned but your church hath a false constitution, or false ministerie, a false worshippe, A false goverment and A false Baptisme, the dore and entrye into the church, and so all is false in your church. wherfore beloved Cosen we wish you in the lorde diligently and seriously to consider and weigh your vniuersall state and standing, that it is most sorofull [?] and lamentable, and now at the last to harken to the lordes voice that sounded from heaven, saing goe ow$^{t}$ of Babilon my people that ye be not partakers [?] w$^{th}$ her in her Synnes & that ye receyve not of her plages.

Beloved Cosen concerning your request of A booke of oure present setled goverment, there is none [?] extant though ther be dyvers bookes [?]...the matters of [?] controversie betwene the church of England and vs, and touching the differences betwene vs and the other churches here.

The order of the worshippe and goverment of oure church is .1. we begynne w$^{th}$ A prayer, after reade some one or tow chapters of the bible gyve the sence therof, and conferr

vpon the same, that done we lay aside oure bookes, and after a solemne prayer made by the .1. speaker, he propoundeth some text ow$^{t}$ of the Scripture, and prophecieth ow$^{t}$ of the same, by the space of one hower, or thre Quarters of an hower. After him standeth vp A .2. speaker and prophecieth ow$^{t}$ of the said text the like tyme and space. some tyme more some tyme lesse. After him the .3. the .4. the .5. &c as the tyme will geve leave, Then the .1. speaker *con*cludeth w$^{th}$ prayer as he began w$^{th}$ prayer, w$^{th}$ an exhortatation to *con*tribution to the poore, w$^{ch}$ collection being made is also *con*cluded w$^{th}$ prayer. This Morning exercise begynes at eight of the clock[e ?] and *con*tinueth vnto twelve of the clocke the like course of exercise is observed in the aft[er]n[o]wne from .2. of the clock vnto .5. or .6. of the Clocke. last of all the execution of the g[over]m*en*t of the church is handled /

...I have by this Bearer [?] sent vnto yow [?] A booke of...of M$^{r}$ Smithe[1] oure [?] past*o*$^{r}$. I wish [?] you diligen*t*ly to pervse [?] and seriously [?] w$^{th}$ Iudgment to examyn the same [?]. And [?] if you...any moe of this or any other argument [?] written by him, either for y*o*ur self or for y*o*ur friend*es* to signify the same vnto vs [?] by y*o*ur letters, and we will (the lorde willing) procure the same so that you send [?] A faithfull messenger [?] to whom we may safely co*m*mitt the Cariage therof / for we have heretofore [?] sent divers Book*es* Into England and they have...of the...and...vnto whom they were sente [?] /

Yours [?] In the lorde at all tymes to vse.
Hughe[2] and Anne Bromheade. /

[A List of the names of those English people who formed the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation, and who, probably about February, 1609/10, petitioned that they might be received as quickly as possible into the "true church of Christ", i.e., the church of the Waterlanders.][3]

[1] This book was evidently "The Character of the Beast", 1609.

[2] Hughe Bromhead had once been "curate of North Wheatley", Nottinghamshire, and was probably about sixty years old in 1608 (W. H. Burgess's "John Smith", 1911, p. 173).

[3] MS. B. 1347 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. The names and text are written in the clear handwriting of John Smyth. The names

Nomina Anglorum qui hunc errorem suum agnoscunt
ejusque penitentiam agunt, viz: quòd [?] incœperint
selpsos
baptisare, contra ordinem a Christo constitutum:
quique
jam cupiunt hinc veræ Christi ecclesiæ vniri, eâ
quâ fieri possit expeditione.

| Nomina[1] virorum. | feminarum. |
|---|---|
| Hugh Bromhead. | Anne Bromhead. |
| Iervase Nevill. | Iane Southworth. |
| Iohn Smyth. | Mary Smyth. |
| Thomas Canadyne. | Ioane Halton. |
| Edward Hankin. | Ales Arnefield. |
| Iohn Hardy. | Isabell Thomson. |
| Thomas Pygott. | Margaret Stavely. |
| Francis Pygott. | Mary Grindall. |
| Robert Stavely. | Mother Pygott. |
| Alexander Fleming. | Ales Pygott. |
| Alexander Hodgkin. | Margaret Pygott. |
| Iohn Grindall. | Betteris Dickenson. |
| Salomon Thomson. | Mary Dickenson. |
| Samuell Halton. | Ellyn Paynter. |
| Thomas Dolphin. | (Ales Parsons.) |
| | (Ioane Briggs.) |
| | Iane Organ. |

Cupimus vnanimiter votum hoc nostrum ecclesiæ significari.

[A Short Latin Confession of Faith, probably written early in 1609/10 by John Smyth.][2]

I have placed within round brackets were originally signed by marks. An imperfect text of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, 1862, Vol. I., pp. 244–5, and a translation on p. 209.

[1] Some of these names as printed by Mr Burgess ("John Smyth", London, 1911, p. 185) are slightly incorrect.

[2] MS. B. 1348 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is printed in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, Vol. I., 1862, pp. 253–4.

Corde credimus, & ore confitemur:

1. Vnum esse Deum, optimum, maximum, gloriosissimum, Creatorem et conservatorem omnium: qui est Pater, Filius, et spiritus sanctus.
2. Deum creasse & redemisse genus humanum ad jmaginem suam, omnesque homines (nemine reprobato) ad vitam predestinasse
3. Deum, nullam peccandi necessitatem cuiquam imponere, sed hominem liberè impulsu sathanæ a deo deficere.
4. Regulam vitæ a deo primitùs in observatione Legis positam; exinde ob infirmitatem carnis dei beneplacito, per Christi redemptionem in justitiam fidei translatam esse: quam ob caussam, neminem deum justè incusare, verum potius ex intimis visceribus ipsius misericordiam revereri, admirari, & celebrare debere; eum possibile homini reddiderit Deus per gratiam, quod prius homine lapso impossibile fuerat per naturam.
5. Nullum esse peccatum originis verum omne peccatum esse actuale & voluntarium viz: dictum factum aut concupitum contra legem dei: ideoque infantes esse sine peccato.
6. Iesum Christum esse verum Deum & verum hominem: viz: Filio dei assumente et sibi vniente hominis veram et puram naturam ex vera anima rationali, et vero corpore humano consistentem.
7. Iesum Christum, quod ad carnem attinet, per spiritum sanctum in vtero Virginis Mariæ conceptum fuisse, postea-natum, circumcisum, baptisatum, tentatum fuisse,: etiam ipsum esurivisse, sitivisse, comedisse, bibisse, crevisse, tum statura tum cognitione: defatigatum fuisse, dormivisse, denique crucifixum, mortuum, sepultum fuisse, resurrexisse, in cœlum ascendisse: ipsique, vtpote soli Regi, Pontifici, et Prophetæ Ecclesiæ, omnem tum in cœlo tum in terra potestatem commissam esse.
8. Gratiam dei per Christi redemptionem impetratam omnibus sine discrimine paratam et oblatam fore, idque non fictè sed bona fidé: partim per creaturas quæ invisibilia dei declarant, partim per evangelij predicationem.
9. Homines ex dei gratia per Christi redemptionem posse (spiritu sancto per gratiam ipsos preveniente) resipiscere, Credere, ad

deum convertere, et vitam eternam adipisci: sicut e contrâ, posse ipsos spiritui sancto resistere, á deo deficere, et in eternum perire.

10. Justificationem hominis coram dei tribunali (qui est et justitiæ et misericordiæ thronus) subsistere, partim ex imputatione justitiæ Christi per fidem apprehensa partim ex justitia inherente in ipsis sanctis per operationem spiritus sancti quae Regeneratio sive sanctificatio dicitur; si quidem justus est qui facit justitiam.
11. Fidem, bonis operibus vacuam, mortuam esse,: veram autem et vivam fidem per bona opera dignosci:
12. Ecclesiam Christi, esse coetum fidelium post fidei et peccatorum confessionem baptizatorum, potestate Christi præditum.
13. Ecclesiam Christi habere potestatem sibi delegatam, verbum[?] anuntiandi, sacramenta administrandi, ministros constituendi & abdicendi, denique excommunicandi,: vltimam autem provocationem esse ad fratres, sive corpus ecclesiæ.
14. Baptismum esse externum symbolum remissionis peccatorum mortificationis et vivificationis, ideoque ad infantes non pertinere.
15. Cœnam Domini esse symbolum externum communionis Christi et fidelium ad invicem per fidem et charitatem.
16. Ministros ecclesiæ esse, tum Episcopos quibus facultas dispensandi tum verbum tum sacramenta commissa est: tum Diaconos viros et viduas, qui res pauperum et fratrum infirmorum curant.
17. Fratres post tertium gradum admonitionis in peccatis sibi cognitis perseverantes excludendos esse é communione sanctorum per excommunicationem.
18. Excommunicatos quod ad civile commercium attinet non esse devitandos.
19. Mortuos (vivis momentó mutatis) resurrecturos ijsdem corporibus, non substantià, sed qualitatibus mutatis
20. Post resurrectionem omnes sistendos fore ad Tribunal Christi judicis, secundum opera judicandos: Pios post sententiam absolutionis, vita eterna cum Christo in cœlis fruituros: Impios verò damnatos, in Gehenna cum diabolo angelis ejus eternis supplicijs cruciandos.

Iohn Smyth.

[An undated Latin Letter from Thomas Helwys's Congregation to the Waterlanders at Amsterdam, probably written early in 1609/10, urging them not to admit John Smyth and his followers into their church membership.][1]

Ecclesia Anglicana, Ecclesiæ Belg[icæ]
Amsterdamiæ. / Gratia vobis et pax, a
deo patre nostro, et domino Iesu Christo. /

Charissimi fratres fidei vinculo, (in eo, ad quod *per*venimus) oportet nos, vt eadem simul incedamus regula: et hoc profitemur in omnibus erga vos prestare, secundu*m* eam scientiæ et gratiæ mensuram, quam deus nobis dedit aut daturus est: idem a vobis expectantes, quum tale indiciu*m* de vobis ferendu*m* est. / Idcirco nostra interesse iudicavimus [?] (cum auditur idq*ue* a semetipsis: quod, quidam, qui era[nt] ex nobis: sed nunc temporis, propter eoru*m* in peccato impenitentiam, quum nos esse Christi ecclesiam, et potestatem recipiendi, eijciendi membra habere negent: sancta Christi censura nobis, eius ecclesia[e] concessa: e comunione enim sanctorum iuste excluduntur, et nunc cona*n*tur seipsos vobis adiungere:) vos certiores facere, vt caveatis, ne tales recipiatis, quibus polluamini, cum optime sciatis paulolo fermenti, totam massam fermentari. / Et vos in timore dei obsecramus, vt nobis ipsis attendatis, ne in inconsulto improbos iustificetis, innocentesq*ue* condemnetis, a quo scelere, vt vos deus avertat, sum*m*is precibus oramus: / Sed *per*swasimus nobis de vobis, istis meliora, assidue expectantes, vos operam vestram potius in reformandis contumacibus, quam in ipsis corroborandis in peccatis suis daturos: et adhuc vestrum auxilium in nobis superstruendis, non diruendis collaturos: Et sic sperantes, vos in omnibus rebus vestris, verbum dei regulam vestræ directionis secundum vestræ fidei professionem, sequuturos, com*m*endamus vos deo et Sermoni gratiæ ipsius, qui potest superstruere, et dare vobis, quod hæreditatis iure possideatis cum sanctificatis omnibus:

Valete. /

[1] MS. B. 1349 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not cited in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

[A Latin "Synopsis" of the Faith of the "true English Christian Church" at Amsterdam under the Leadership of Thomas Helwys, delivered (probably between Feb. and Mar. 12, 1609/10) to the Waterlanders there, with thanks for the teaching they had given them.][1]

Synopsis fidei, veræ Christianæ
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Amsterodamiæ. /

i. Quod tres sunt qui testificantur in Cælo, Pater, Sermo, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres sunt vnus Deus, p*er* quem omnia in Cælo, et terra creantur et preseruantur. /
2. Quod hic Deus creavit hominem secundum Imaginem [?] suam, qui peccavit et p*er* cuius inobedientiam, omnes peccatores constituti sunt: sed p*er* obedientiam Iesu Christi, iusti constituimur omnes. /
3. Quod deus necessitatem peccandi nemini imponit. /
4. Quod nullum sit peccatum per generationem a parentibus nostris. /
5. Quod deus vult omnes homines seruari, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, et non vult mortem morientis. /
6. Quod Iesus Christus in plenitudine temporis, manifestans erat, in carne, factus ex muliere, conceptus et natus ex ea, spiritus sanctus inumbrans eam, fructus vteri eius, semen Abrahami Isaaci, Iacobi, et davidis secund*um* carnem, Et sic verus homo, circumcisus erat, baptizatus, precatus est, tentatus erat, metuebat, ignarus diei iudicii [?], esuriebat, sitiebat, defatigatus erat, edebat, bibebat, somnu*m* oculis capiebat, statura et cognitione crescebat, crucifixus erat, moriebatur, sepultus, resurrexit, in Cælu*m* ascendebat, omni potestate in Cælo et terra ei tradita, existens solus Rex, Sacerdos, et Propheta eius eccl*es*iæ. Et vna persona, verus Deus et verus homo. /

[1] MS. B. 1350 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

7. Quod hominis iustificatio coram deo solum*m*odo consistit in Christi obedientia et iusticia, p*er* fidem apprehensa [?]: fides tamen absq*ue* operibus mortua est. /
8. Quod homo dei gratia p*er* Christi redemptionem, facultatem habet (spiritu sancto in eo operante per predicationem evangelij) resipiscendi, credendi, ad deum revertendi, et ad finem p*er*seuerandi, atq*ue* et iam est in homine facultas spiritui sancto resistendi, et a domino avertendi. /
9. Quod Eccliesia [*sic*] sit Cœtus populi fidelis, baptizatus in nomen patris, filij, et spiritus, tempore, quo confitentur fidem et peccata eorum: potestatem Christi habens, verbum predicandi baptismum et Cænam dominic*am* admin*i*strandi: min*i*stros suos Eligendi, et abdicandi: et membra sua recipiendi et eijciendi secundum Christi Canones. /
10. Quod baptismus sit signum externum remissionis peccatorum mortificationis, et vitæ renouationis: et Idcirco ad Infantes non p*er*tinet. /
11. Quod Cæna dominica sit signum externum spiritualis comunionis Christi et fidelium mutuo in fide et charitate. /
12. Quod vnumquodq*ue* membrum corporis oportet se mutuo cognoscere, vt sic prestent omnia charitatis fraternæ munera, tam animæ, quam temporis, mutuo sibi invicem: et presertim Presbiteros oportet totum gregem cognoscere, in quo eos spiritus sanctus constituit Episcopos. /
13. Quod Ecclesiæ ministri sint, aut Episcopi, quibus ab eccl*es*ia com*m*issa [?] est potestas, verbum predicandi, baptismum, et Cænam dominic*am* admin*i*strandi: aut Diaconi, viri, et viduæ, qui pro eccl*es*ia, fratrum pauperum et infirmorum necessitates sublevant. /
14. Quod oportet eccl*es*iam (iuxta Christi discipulorum, et primitauarum eccl*es*iarum exemplum[)] vnoquoq*ue* primo die hebdomadis conveniendi: ad precandum, prophetandum [?], deum celebrandrum [*sic*], panem

fragendum, et prestandum cetera omnia munera spiritualis comunionis, quæ *per*tinent ad divinum cultum, membrorum mutuam ædificationem, et preseruationem veræ religionis et pietatis in Ecclesia: Et Idcirco seponendi sunt ordinarij nostrarum vocation*um* labores, qui in eo nos impedire possent. /

15. Quod fratres in peccato impenitentes, post tertium admonitionis gradum *per* ecclesiam actum; *per* ex-co*mun*icationem eijciendi sint ex ecclesiæ comunione. /
16. Quod Excomunicati respectu civilis societatis non sint fugiendi. /
17. Quod adiaphora non fuit ecclesiæ, aut alicui membro ecclesiæ imponenda: sed Christiana libertas...restituenda est. /
18. Quod mortui resurgent (et vivis momento mutatis) eadem corpora quoad substantiam, etsi quoad qualitates diversa habentes. /
19. Quod omnes homines post resurrectionem, comparere oportet coram tribunali Christi, ad [?] iudicandos secundum opera eorum, vt pij iustificati æterna vita fruantur, et impij condemnati in gehenna cruciatus æternos ferant. /

Et Sic *per* dei misericordiam, Christum, secund*um* eius verbum didicimus: agnoscentes tamen nosipsos simplices et ignaros; et semper paratos cum omni reverentia et humilitate a deo instrui *per* huiusmodi instrumenta, quæ dominus noster excitaverit pro nostra, in veritate, ampliore informatione: et deo benedicentes pro huiusmodi optimis medijs quae a vobis nobis suppeditata sunt: dominum nostrum Iesum Christum suppliciter invocantes, vt vos et nos *per* spiritum suum in omnem dirigat veritatem. /

Gratia sit vobis, et pax, a deo patre nostro, et a domino nostro Iesu christo. /

[A Letter from Thomas Helwys, William Pigott, Thomas Seamer, and John Murton at Amsterdam to the Waterland

Church there, dated March 12, 1609/10, dealing chiefly with the cause of their so-termed ejection of John Smyth and his followers.][1]

Beloued in the lord. Your approued care, diligence, and faithfulnes in the aduancement of Gods holie truth, being by good experience (to God be giuen the glorie) well knowne vnto vs: makes vs that wee can do no lesse then with our best hopes, hope, that through the grace of God (his word, and spiritt directing you) wee shall find you so still; and therefore wee are with much gladnes and willingnes stirred vp to write vnto you, praieing you as you loue the lord and his truth, that you will take wise councell and that from Gods word, how you deale in this cause betwixt vs and those that are iustlie for their sinnes cast out from vs./ And the whole cause in question being Succession, (for so it is indeed and in truth) consider wee beseech you, how it is Antichrists cheife hold, and that it is Iewish and Ceremoniall, an ordinance of the old testament but not of y^e^ new./ Furthermore let it be well considered, that the Succession which is stand [*sic*] vpon, neither the time, Person, nor place, can be proued to anie mans conscience, and so herein wee should ground our faith, wee cannot tell vpon whome, nor when, nor where,./ Wee beseech you consider how can wee of faith forsake y^e^ euident leight of Gods truth to walke in such darknes./ And this is our warrant by y^e^ word of truth. First for our baptisme./ Iohn Baptist being vnbaptized preached the baptisme of repentance and they that beleeued and confessed their sinnes, he baptized,. And whosoeuer shall now be stirred vp by the same spiritt, to preach the same word, and men thereby being converted, may according to Iohn his example, wash them with water and who can forbid./ And wee pray that wee may speake freelie herein, how dare anie man or men chalenge to themselues a pre-heminence herein, as though y^e^ spiritt of God were onelie in their harts, and the word of God were onelie to be fetched at

[1] MS. B. 1351 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. A modernized text is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, Vol. I., pp. 209–210.

their mouethes, and the ordinances of God onelie to be had from their hands, except they were Appostles, hath y^e^ lord thus restrained his spirit, his word, and ordinances as to make *par*ticuler men lords over them, or y^e^ keepers of them, God forbid. / This is contrarie to the libertie of the gospell, w*hi*ch is free for all men, at all times, and in all places, yea as *our* Sauiour Christ doth testifie, wheresoeuer, whosoeuer, and whensoeuer two or three are gathered to gether in his name, there is he in the middest of them. / And thus much in all christian loue wee do aduertise you, that this ground of truth is, and wilbe mainteyned against all the world, and that by the great aduersaries of *our* faith in diuers other maine pointes, who wilbe glade to haue such an aduantage against you, if you shall publish or practice anie thinge against this ground in y^e^ 18. of Matth: and the profession of Christ shall sustaine much reproach by it; and therefore wee earnestly intreat you euen by the loue of Christ that is in you, that you wilbe well aduised what you do in these thinges. / And now for the other question, that Elders must ordeyne Elders, if this be a true perpetuall rule, then from whence is y*our* Eldership come, and if one Church might once ordeyne, then whie not all churches alwaies. Oh that wee might be though[t] worthie to be aunswered in these thinges, or that the poore aduise of so few,, so simple, and so weake might prevaile with you to cause you to looke circu*m*spectlie to y*our* waies in these thinges. The lord that knoweth all harts knoweth ours towards you herein, that wee do desire that there may be found no way of error in you, but that you and wee might walke vprightlie in the waies of God: casting vtterlie away all the traditions of men, and this wee are *per*swaded is y*our* vnfained desire also; now fulfill *our* *per*-swasion herein, and trie y*our* standing in these pointes, and respect not how manie hold these thinges with you, but respect from what ground of truth you hold them. /

Thus beseeching the lord to *per*swade y*our* hart, that y*our* hand may not be against his truth and against vs y^e^ lords vnworthie witnesses, wee take leaue, com*m*ending you to y^e^ gracious protection of y^e^ almightie, and to the blessed direction of his word and spirit, beseeching y^e^ lord to do by you according to

the great loue and kindnes that you haue shewed vnto vs./ Grace and peace be with you. Amen.

Your brethren in the faith

Amsterdam. this

Thomas Helwys

12th of March. 1609

William Pigott

./

Thomas Seamer

Iohn Murton./

Wee haue written in our owne tonge, because wee are not able to expresse our mynds in anie other, and seeing you haue an interpreter./ And wee haue bene much greeued since our last conference with you because wee dishonored the truth of God much for want of speach, in that wee were not able to vtter that poore measure of knowledg which God of his grace hath giuen vs./

A short confession of fayth[1]

[evidently prepared and partially signed by the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation early in 1610.]

[1] MS. B. 1352 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. A modernized text of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", London, 1862, Vol. I., pp. 245–52. This MS. consists of twelve unnumbered pages, the last two blank. The paper is somewhat worn and yellow with age, but the hand-writing is generally clear. The text of this MS. is an English translation of the Confession of Faith of Lubbert Gerrits and Hans de Ries (omitting articles 19 and 22), and is not, therefore, an original expression of the views of the English Anabaptists who have here signed it. The text of this Confession on the contrary was used as a means of testing the general orthodoxy of their faith. Dr Evans incorrectly printed a number of the signatures, and Professor W. J. McGlothlin in his "Baptist Confessions of Faith", London [1911], p. 65, has painstakingly reprinted them. Mr Burgess ("John Smith", London, 1911, pp. 188–9) dates the *signing* of this Confession "between July 14 and the end of August", 1612, and he may be right, but I think that other evidence in the Mennonite Archives points to the date given above. Some of the later signatures, however, were certainly not written until after July 14, 1612, and Mr Burgess has done well in calling attention to this fact.

The first article

Wee beleeve through the powre & instruction of the holy scripture y^t^ ther is one only god, who is a spiritt, eternall, incomprehensible, infinite, almighty, mercifull, righteous, perfectly wise, only good, and the founteyne of life, & all goodnes: the creato^r^ of heaven & earth, thinges visible & invisible.

2.

This only god in the holy scripture is manifested & revealed, in father, sonne, & holy ghost,: being three, and neverthelesse but one god.

3.

The father is the originall and beginning of all thinges: who hath begotten his sonne from everlasting before all creatures: The sonne is the everlasting word of the father, and his wisdome: The H. Ghost is his virtue, powre, & might, proceeding from y^e^ father & y^e^ sonne: These three are not divided nor seperated, in Essence, Nature, property, Eternity, powre, glory or excellency.

4.

This only god hath created man good, accordinge to his jmage & likenesse, to a good & happy estate, & in him all men to y^e^ same blessed end. The first man was fallen into synne & wrath: And was againe by god, through a sure comfortable promise, restored, & assumed to everlasting life, with all those y^t^ were guilty through him: so y^t^ none of his posterity, (by reason of this resolution) is guilty synfull, or borne in originall synne.

5.

Man being created good & continuing in goodnes, had hability, the spiritt of wickednes tempting him, freely to obey, assume or reject y^e^ propounded [?] evill: man being fallen & consisting in evill, had hability, the L*ord*[1] himselfe moving him, freely to obey, assume, or reject y^e^ propounded [?] good: for as he through free powre to the choise of evill, obeyed & assumed y^e^

[1] Dr B. Evans in "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., p. 245, has "the T——" for "the L*ord*", and Prof. McGlothlin faithfully reproduces this incorrect reading.

evill: so did he through free powre to the choise of good, obey and reassume y^e^ propounded good. This last powre or hability remayneth in all his posterity.

6.

God hath before all tymes forseen & foreknowne all thing*es* both good & evill, whither past, present, or to come: Now, as he is y^e^ only p*er*fect goodnes, and y^e^ very founteyne of life it self; So is he y^e^ only author, originall & worker of such things as are good, holy, pure, cleane, & of nature like vnto him; but not of synne, or of damnable vncleanenes: He forbiddeth y^e^ evill, he forwarneth to avoyd evill, and threatneth the evill doer: he is y^e^ Permitter, & Punisher: But Evill men through free choise of all synne & wickednes together w*i*th the spiritt of wickednes w*hi*ch ruleth in them, are the Authors [?], originall, & workers of all synne, and so worthy y^e^ punishm*en*t.

7.

The cause & ground therfor of mans destructio*n* and damnatio*n* is th[e] mans free choise of darkenes or synne & living therein: Destruction therfor commeth out of him self, but not from y^e^ good creator. Fo[r] being p*er*fect goodnes & love itself (following the nature of love and p*er*fect goodnes) he willed the health, good, & happinesse of his creatures: therfor hath he p*re*-destinated none of the*m* y^t^ they should be condemned, nor ordeyned or willed the synnes or meanes [?] wherby they should be brought to damnatio*n*: Yea much more (seing he hath no delight in any mans destructio*n*, nor willeth y^t^ any ma*n* perish, but y^t^ all men should be saved & blessed) hath he create[d] them all to a happy end, and being fallen & restored in Christ, hath forseen & ordeyned in him a medicine of life for all their synn[es ?] and hath willed y^t^ all people or creatures through the preaching of y^e^ gospell, should have this tiding*es* published & declared vnto them: No[w] all they y^t^ w*i*th penitent & faythfull hart*es* receave & embrace, this gracious benefitt of gods, manifested in Christ for y^e^ reconciliatio*n* of y^e^ world, are & continue the Elect w*hi*ch god hath ordeyned before y^e^ foundatio*n* of y^e^ world, to make p*ar*takers of his kingdo*m* &

glory. But they *whi*ch despise & contemne this profered grace of god, *whi*ch love the darknes more the*n* the light, *per*severe in impenitency & vnbelief, the[y] make themselves vnworthy of blessednes, & are rejected & excluded fro*m* the end wherto they were created & ordeyned in Christ; & shall not for ever tast of y^e^ supper of y^e^ Lord, wherto they were invited.

8.

The purpose, w*hi*ch god before y^e^ foundatio*n* of y^e^ world had for y^e^ reco*n*ciliation of y^e^ world, (w*hi*ch he saw would fall into wrath & want of grace) h[e] hath in the fulnes of tyme accomplished; and for this purpose hath se[nt ?] out of heaven his everlasting word or sonne for y^e^ fulfilling of the p*ro*mises made vnto the fathers, and hath caused him to become flesh o[r] man, in the womb of a holy virgin (called Mary) by his wonde[rful ?] powre & working of y^e^ holy ghost. Not, y^t^ y^e^ Essence of god, y^e^ eternall word, or any p*ar*t thereof[?] is chandged into a visible, morta[l] flesh or man, ceasing to be spiritt, God, or gods essence: but y^t^ th[e] everlasting sonne of god continuing[?] y^t^ he was before, namely God and spiritt, became y^t^ he was not, y^t^ is, flesh or man: and s[o] is in one *per*son true god, & man, borne of Mary, being visibly & invisibly, inwardly & outwardly, y^e^ true sonne of y^e^ living god.

9.

This *per*son god & man, the sonne of the living god, is come into the world to save synners, or to reconcile the sinfull world to god the father: Therfor wee acknowledg him to be the only mediator, king, Preist, & prophett, Lawgever & Teacher, w*hi*ch god had promised to send into the world, whom wee must heere, beleeve & follow.

10.

In him is fulfilled, & by him ther is taken away an intollerable burthe*n* of the law of Moses, even all the shadowes & figures: as namely the Preisthood, Temple, Altar, sacrifice: also the kingly office, kingdom, sword, Revendg appointed by y^e^ law, battell, and whatsoever was a figure of his *per*son or offices, & so thereof a shadow or representatio*n*.

11.

And as the true promised prophett he hath manifested & revealed vnto vs whatsoever god asketh or requireth of the people of the new testament. for as God by Moses & the other prophettes hath spoken & declared his will to the people of the old testament: so hath he in these last dayes by this prophett spoken vnto vs, & revealed vnto vs the mystery (concealed from y$^{e}$ beginning of the world): & hath now manifested to vs whatsover y$^{t}$ remayned to be manifested. He hath preached the promised glad tidinges, appointed & ordeyned the sacramentes, Offices, & ministeries by god therto destinated [?]: & hath shewed by doctryne & life y$^{e}$ law of Christians, a rule of their life, the path & way to everlasting life.

12

Moreover as a high Preist and mediator of the new testament, after y$^{t}$ he had accomplished the will of his father in the foresaid workes, he hath finally given himself obediently (for the reconciliation of y$^{e}$ synnes of y$^{e}$ world) to all outward sufferinges, and hath offered vp himself in death vppon the crosse vnto the father for a sweet savour & a common oblation.

13.

Wee acknowledge y$^{t}$ the obedience of the sonne of god, his sufferinges, dying, bloodshed [?], bitter passion, death, & only sacrifice vppon the crosse, is a perfect reconciliation & satisfaction for our synnes, & the synnes of y$^{e}$ world; so y$^{t}$ wee therby are reconciled to god, are brought into peace, & have a sure hope, & certaynty to the entranc[e] into everlasting life.

14.

Iesus Christ our prophett & Preist, being also, the promised, only spirituall, heavenly king of the new testament, hath erected or built a spirituall kingdom & vnited a company of faythfull spirituall men: These persons hath he indued with spirituall kingly lawes, after y$^{e}$ nature of his heavenly kingdom, & hath established therin justice, righteousnes, & the ministers therof.

15.

Having accomplished & performed, heer vppon the earth, by dying the death, his office of y^e^ Crosse; he was afterward buryed, therby declaring y^t^ he was truly dead, the third day he rose againe, & stood vp from the dead, overcomming death & testifying y^t^ he was Lord over death, & y^t^ he could not possiblie be deteyned by y^e^ bands of death, hereby comfortably assuring all the faythfull of their resurrection & standing vp from death

16.

Afterwards 40 dayes space he conversed among his disciples, and oft tymes showed himself vnto them, that [?] ther [?] might no doubt be had concerning his resurrection: after y^t^, being compassed by a cloud, he was caryed vp into heaven, & entred into his glory, leading captivity captive, & making a show [?] of his enemies, hath gloriously triumphed over them, & is sett at y^e^ right hand of y^e^ majesty of God, & is become a Lord, & Christ, Glorifyed in body, advanced, lifted vp & crowned with praise & glory, & remayneth over mount syon a Preist & king for everlasting.

17.

The holy office of this glorifyed Preist, king, Lord, & Christ, in this heavenly glorious being, is, to help, governe, & preserve by his holy spiritt, his holy Church & people in the world, through the storme, wind & troubles of the sea: for according to his Preistly office, as an overseer or steward of y^e^ true tabernacle, is he our intercessor, Advocate & mediato^r^ by y^e^ father: He teacheth, comforteth, strengthneth & baptizeth vs with y^e^ holy ghost, his heavenly giftes, & fiery vertue: & keepeth his spirituall supper with y^e^ faythfull soule, making it partake of y^e^ Life-giving food and drinck of y^e^ soule, y^e^ fruit vertue and worth of his meritts obteyned vppon the crosse, the only true necessary good signified in y^e^ sacraments.

18

And according to his kingly office in his heavenly being, he gouerneth the hartes of y^e^ faythfull by his holy spiritt & word: he takes them into his protection, he covereth them vnder

the shadow of his wings,: he armeth them with spirituall weopens [?] for y^e^ spirituall warfare, against all their enemyes namely y^e^ spiritts of wickednes vnder heaven, and whatsoever dependeth vppon them in this earth. He their most glorious almighty, heavenly king, standeth by them, delivereth & freeth them from the hands of their enemyes, giveth them victory & y^e^ winning of y^e^ field: & hath prepared for them a crowne of righteousnes in heaven. And they being the redeemed of the Lord, who dwell in the howse of y^e^ Lord, vppon the holy mount syon, do chandg their fleshly weopens [?], namely their swords into shares, & their speares into sithes, do lift vp no sword, neyther teach nor consent to fleshly battell. /

19.

All these spirituall good things and benefittes with Iesus Christ by his merites hath obteyned for y^e^ saving of synners, wee do graciously enjoy through a true living working fayth. Which fayth, is an assured vnderstanding & knowledg in the hart, obteyned out of y^e^ word of god, concerning God, Christ, & other heavenly things, which are necessary for vs to know & to beleeve to salvation; together with a harty confidence in y^e^ only god, that he as a gracious heavenly father will give & bestow vppon vs through Chri[st] & for his meritts, whatsoever is helpfull & profittable for body & soule to salvation.

20.

Through such a fayth wee obteyne true righteousnes, forgivenes or absolution from synne through y^e^ bloodshed of Christ Iesus, and true righteousnes, which through Christ Iesus by y^e^ co-operation of y^e^ holy ghost is plentifully shed & powred into vs, so y^t^ wee truly are made of evill men, good: of fleshly, spirituall: of covetous liberall,: of Proud, humble: & through regeneration are made pure in hart, and the children of God.

21.

Man being thus justified by fayth liveth & worketh by love (which the holy Ghost sheddeth into their hartes) in all goods [good] workes, in the lawes, preceptes & ordinances given

them by god through Christ, he prayseth & blesseth god by a holy life, for every benefitt, especially of ye soule: And so are all such Plants of ye Lord, Trees of righteousnes, who honour god through good works, and expect a blessed reward.

22.

Such faythfull righteous people, scattered in severall parts of ye world being ye true congregation of god, or ye church of Iesus Christ, whome he loved & for whome he gave himself yt he might sanctify them, yea whom he hath clensed by ye washing of water in the word of life: of all such is Iesus ye head, ye shepheard, ye Leader, ye Lord, ye king, & maister. Now although among these ther may be mingled a company of seeming-holy-ones & hypocrites; yet neverthelesse they are & remayne only ye righteous true members of ye body of Christ according to ye spiritt, & in truth, ye heyres of ye Promises: truly severed from ye hipocrites & dissemblers:/

23.

In this holy church hath god ordeyned ye ministery of ye Gospell, ye Doctryne, of ye holy word, the vse of ye holy sacraments, ye oversight of ye poore, & ye ministery of ye same offices, furthermore ye exercise of brotherly admonition & correction, & finally ye separating of the impenitent: which holy ordinances conteyned in the word of god are to be administred only according to the contentes thereof.

24.

And like as a body consisteth of divers parts, & every part hath his owne proper work, seing every part is not a hand, eye, or foot: so is it also in ye church of god: for although every beleever is a member of ye body of Christ, yet is not every one therfor a teacher, Elder, or deacon: but only such which are orderly appointed to such offices. Therfor also the administration of ye said offices or dutyes perteyneth only to them yt are ordeyned therto, & not to every particular common person./

25.

The vocation or Election to y^e^ forsaid offices is performed by y^e^ church with fasting & prayer to god. for god knoweth y^e^ harts; hee is amongst y^e^ faythfull which are gathered together in his name: and by his holy spiritt doth so gouerne y^e^ myndes & harts of his, that he by them bringeth to light & propoundeth whom he knoweth to be profitable to his churches.

26.

And although y^e^ Election and vocation be performed by y^e^ foresaid meanes yet neverthelesse y^e^ investing into y^e^ said service is accomplished by y^e^ Elders of y^e^ church, through laying on of hands.

27.

The doctryne which by the foresaid ministers must be propounded to the people is even the same which Iesus Christ hath brought out of heaven, which he by word & work, y^t^ is by doctryne & life hath taught the people: which was preached by the Apostles of Christ by the commaundement of Christ & y^e^ spiritt: which wee find written (so much as is needful for vs to salvation) in the scriptures of y^e^ new testament, wherto wee apply whatsoever wee find in the Canonicall Bookes of y^e^ old testament, which hath affinity & vnity with the doctryne of Christ & his Apostles, & consent & agreement with the government of his spirituall kingdom.

28.

Ther are two sacraments appointed by Christ in his holy church, y^e^ administration whereof he hath assigned to y^e^ ministery of Teaching, namely y^e^ Holy Baptisme, & y^e^ Holy supper: These are outward visible handlings & tookens setting before our eyes, on gods side, y^e^ inward spirituall handling, which god through Christ by y^e^ cooperation of y^e^ Holy Ghost reacheth forth in y^e^ justification of y^e^ penitent faithfull soule: & which on our behalf, witnesse our Religion, repentance, fayth, & obedience through y^e^ obliging of a good conscience to y^e^ service of god.

29.

The holy baptisme is given vnto them, in ye name of ye father, ye sonne, & ye holy ghost, which heere, beleeve, & with penitent hartes receave ye doctryne of ye holy gospell: for such hath ye Lord Iesus commaunded to be baptized, and no vn-speaking children.

30.

The whole dealing in the outward visible baptisme of water setteth before the eyes, witnesseth, & signifieth, yt Iesus Christ doth inwardly baptise the repentant faythfull, man in the lavor of regeneration & renewing of the holy ghost, washing ye soule from all pollution & synne, by ye vertue & meritt of his blood-shed, & by ye powre & working of the holy ghost the true hevenly spirituall living water clenseth the inward evill of ye soule, & maketh it heavenly, spirituall & living in true righteousnes or goodnes. Therfor the baptisme of water leadeth vs to Christ, to his holy office in glory & majesty: & admonisheth vs not to hang only vppon ye outward, but with holy prayers to mount vpwards, & to begg of Christ ye good thing signified.

31.

The holy supper according to the institution of Christ is to be administred to the baptised, as the Lord Iesus hath commaunded yt whatsoever he hath appointed should be taught to be observed.

32.

The whole dealing in the outward visible supper, setteth before ye eye witnesseth & signifieth, yt Christes holy body was broken vppon ye crosse & his holy blood spilt for ye remission of our synnes: That he being glorifyed in his heavenly being, is the alive-making bread meate & drinck of our soules,: it setteth before our eyes Christes office & ministery in glory & majesty by houlding his spirituall supper with ye beleeving soule, feeding & meating ye soule with spirituall food: it teacheth vs by yt outward handling to mount vpwardes with ye hart in holy prayer to begg at Christes hands ye true signified good: and it admonisheth vs of thankfullnes to god, & of vnity & love one with another.

33.

The church discipline or externall censures is also an outward handeling among y^e^ beleevers, wherby the impenitent synner after Christian admonition & reproof is severed by reason of his synne from y^e^ communion of y^e^ saynts for his future good: and the wrath of god is denounced against him vntill the tyme of his conversion and reformation: and ther is also, by this outward seperation of the church, manifested, what god before had judged & fore-handled, concerning this seperate synner, by reason of his synne: Therfor first before y^e^ Lord, the prejudging & predetermining of the matter must passe in respect of the synner impenitent, and the after-judging & handling by y^e^ church Therfor the church must carefully regard, that none in the church be condemned which is not condemned in the word of god./

34.

The person seperated from the church may not at all be admitted (so long as he proceedeth in synne) to the vse of y^e^ holy supper or any other ecclesiasticall handling, but he must be avoyded therin, as also in all other thinges betokening y^e^ communion of y^e^ saynts or brotherhood. And as the rebellious life, conversation, or dayly company of y^e^ godlesse and perverse; or mingling with them is daungerous & hurtfull, & oft tymes procureth scandall & slaunder to the godly, so must they withdraw themselves from the same rebells, avoyding them in all workes & endes wherby their pure soules might be polluted & defiled: yet so y^t^ alwayes the word of god take place & y^t^ nothing take place or be preferred y^t^ is contrary to love mercy, Christian discretion, necessity, Promise, or any other like matter.

35.

Worldly Authority or magistracy is a necessary ordinance of god, appointed & established for y^e^ preservation of y^e^ common estate, & of a good naturall, politique life, for y^e^ reward of y^e^ good, & y^e^ punishing of the evill: wee acknowledg ourselves obnoxious, & bound by y^e^ word of god to feare, honour, & shew obedience to the magistrate in all causes not contrary to the

word of the Lord. wee are obliged to pray god almighty for them, & to thank the Lord, for good reasonable magistrates. & to yeeld vnto them without murmuring beseeming Tribute, Toll, & Tax. This office of the worldly Authority the Lord Iesus hath not ordeyned in his spirituall kingdom the church of the new testament: nor adjoyned to the offices of his church: Neyther hath he called his disciples or followers to be worldly kinges, Princes, Potentates, or magistrates: neyther hath he burthened or chardged them to assume such office, or to governe the world in such a worldly manner: much lesse hath he given a law, to the members of his church, which is agreeable to such office or government. Yea rather they are called of him (whome wee are commaunded to obey by a voyce heard from heaven) to y^e^ following of his vnarmed or vnweopened life, & of his crosse-bearing footsteps. In whom appeared nothing lesse then a worldly gouerment, powre, & sword. This then considered: (as also further, y^t^ vppon the office of y^e^ worldly authority many other thinges depend, as warrs, [*blank space*] to hurt his enemies in body or goodes etc [?], which evilly or not at all will fitt or consort with Christ, & y^e^ crucified life of Christians): so hould wee y^t^ it beseemeth beseemeth [*sic*] not Christians to administer this office: Therfor wee avoyd such offices & administrations, notwithstanding by no meanes therby willing to despise or condemne the reasonable discreet magistrate nor to place him in lesse estimation, then he is described, by the holy ghost, of Paull.

36.

Iesus Christ the king & lawgiver of the new testament hath prohibited Christian [*sic*] y^e^ swering of oaths: Therfor it is not permitted y^t^ the faythfull of y^e^ new testament should swere an oth.

37.

The marryed estate or matrimony hould wee for an ordinance of god, which according to y^e^ first institution shalbe observed: Every man shall have his one only wife, & every woman shall have her one only husband: these may not be seperated but for adultery. Wee permitt none of our communion, to marry

THE

# PATRIMONY OF CHRISTIAN CHILDREN:

OR,

## A DEFENCE OF INFANTS Babtiſme prooued to be conſonant to the Scriptures and will of GOD (againſt the erroneous poſitions of the ANABAPTISTS.

By ROBERT CLEAVER, with the ioynt conſent of Mr IOHN DOD.

MAT. 21. 16.

*Haue yee neuer read, Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou haſt perfected praiſe?*

LONDON,
Printed by *Bernard Alſop*, for *Joſeph Hunſcot* and *Beniamin Fiſher*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the *Talbot* in *Pater-noſter* Rowe.
1624.

TITLE-PAGE. (Size of original $7\frac{1}{10}$ in. × $5\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

See Vol. I., pages 268–9.

godles, vnbeleeving, fleshly persons out of y^e^ church; but wee censure such (as other synnes) according to the disposition & desert of y^e^ cause.

38.

Lastly: wee beleeve & teach the Resurrection of y^e^ Dead: both of y^e^ just & vnjust, as Paul: 1. Cor. 15. soundly teacheth and witnesseth: The soule shalbe vnited to the body, every one shalbe presented before y^e^ judgment seat of Christ Iesus, to receave in his owne body wages according to his workes: And the righteou[s] which heer have lived holyly, & through fayth have brought forth the workes of love & mercy, shall enter into everlasting life with Christ Iesus y^e^ Brydegrom of y^e^ Christian host: But the vnsanctified, which have not knowne god, & have not obeyed y^e^ gospell of Iesus Christ, shall goe into everlasting fier.

The Almighty, Gracious, mercifull God, preserve vs from the punishment of the vngodly, & grant vs grace & gifts helpfull to a holy life, saving death, & joyfull resurrection with all the Righteous. Amen.

Wee subscribe to y^e^ truth of these articles, desiring further instruction

**Iohn Smyth.**[1]
**Hugo** [?] **Bromhead**
**his wife X Iohn Grindall**

**Thomas Cannadine** [?]

**Samuel Halton**
Thomas Pigott
Iohn Hardie
**Edward hankin** [?]

Thomas Iesopp

Robert Staveley

**Garuase Neuile.** /

Elizabeth Tomson
**Mother Pigott.**
Mary Smyth
Iane southworth
Margarett Stavely.
**Isabell** [?] **Thomson.**
Iane Organ.
Mary Dickens.

Betteris Dickens.
Dorottie Hamand.

[1] The names in this list printed in dark type have been crossed out in the original.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Allexander fleeminge** [?] | **Ellin** [?] **Paynter** |
| Iohn Arnfeld | |
| | Anne Broomhead |
| Fraunces Pigott | Ales Parsons. |
| Thomas Dolphin | **Ioane Houghton.** |
| Salomon Thomson. | **Ioane Brigges** |
| | Ales Pigott. |
| Alexander Hodgkin | Margarett Pigott |
| Vrsulay Bywater | Ales Arnefield. |
| dorethie Oakland | Elizabeth White |
| Iohn..... | Dorethie Tomson |
| ..... | Margaret Maurice |

[A Copy of a Letter sent in April, 1610, by the Waterland Church at Amsterdam to the Waterland Congregations outside the city, concerning the admission of the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation into their church membership.][1]

Iesŭs de ewighe wijsheyt des vaders zij met v, behertichde br*oeder* en mededienaer inden heere,

Dus voornemen is welbeminde in Christo v by desen bekent te maken de gelegenth*eyt* der saken alhier met ons en die engelse personen, (daer v voor desen wat van bekent is geworden) die de v*er*eniginge met onse Gemeenten van oŭer lange gedŭijrichlijck versocht hebben. Vnde eerstelyck wetet, dat wij deur het vijerich aenhoŭden vande personen voorgenoemt, als oock het aendringen van sommige onser br*oederen*, by de welcke haer doen en godtsalige wandelinge best bekent was, soe verre gebracht zyn, dat wij de oore voor haer niet langer slŭijten en conden met goeder conscientien, maer haere sake onse gansche broederschap hebben voorgestelt, om met onse Gemeijnte te sien, wat wtcomste ons de genadige Godt v*er*lenen wilde, also ons hier de sake principalyck aenginck: en hebben eerst wy

[1] MS. B. 1357 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. The date when this letter was written is not given, but only the date when it was sent. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Anabaptists", Vol. I., London, 1862, pp. 211–13.

dienaren, wt last der br*oederen*, dese engelse*n* voor ons ontbode*n* noch eens perfectelyck ondersocht inde leere ter salich*eyt*, ende regeringe der Gemeynte, als oock bevraecht t'fondament en de forme van haer doop, en hebben niet bevonden datter enich v*er*schil soe in t'een als int'ander tŭsschen haer e*nde* ons was, oock aengaende haer doop voor antwoort gecregen, datse in haer dopen ogemerck genomen hebben op$^{1.}$ [i.e., 1.$^{en}$] Act: 2, 38, doet boete en*de* een yegelyck late hem dope*n* inde*n* name Iesŭ etc om nade wijse Petri alhier de boete voor te hoŭden, en t'sterŭen der sonde*n*, (oock door de*n* doop beteeckent) grondich te v*er*claren: 2.$^{en}$ op Act: 8, 37. gelooffdy van ganscher herte*n* soe macht wel geschieden etc. om t'geloŭe aen Iesum Christŭm, dat hy de Sone godts is, daer by te voegen, en van ganscher herten te eysschen van die boetveerdigen, en daerop hebben sy gedoopt met belofte vande*n* dopelinck hem te wille*n* bŭijgen onder het gansche eŭangeliŭm met syne leere, sy v*er*stondense dan ofte sy v*er*stondense noch niet. Hebben dan, mercken wij, geen onsŭyŭere v*er*stande*n* geleert, en de*n* dopelinck voorgehoŭde*n*, om haer doop op enige misverstande*n* te fonderen, gelyck by de andere doopsgesinde*n* wel geschiet, maer alleen het schriftŭerlyck fondament daer inne gevolcht, en*de* also eenvŭldelyck gehandelt.

Dit alle is daernae op een gesette tijt den br*oederen* v*er*claert en*de* onse oordel van haer doop, wt begeerte der br*oederen*, also wy de voorstanders der gemeynte geacht ware*n*, voorgestelt, en den br*oederen* daer op haer bedencke*n* gegeŭen, (gelyckse oock begeerde*n*,) en v*er*maent haer met godt te beraden inde*n* gebede. en nae enige weecken wederom te samen gecome*n* zynde hebben wij geeyscht by stemmen van p*er*soon tot p*er*soon wat haer Godt soŭde mogen int herte gegeŭen hebben, en gevonden dat meest de br*oederen*, allee*n* sommige wtgenomen, ons gevoelen, haer voorgestelt, toestendich ware*n*, e*nde* bestemde*n*.

Soe is nŭ, hoewel wij hier een redelycke wtcomste inde sake hebben onder onse br*oederen*, dat wy nochtans, om beters wille, geaccordeert syn niet voort te varen, voor en

all eer wij de sake onse naest gelegene mededienaren hebben aengegeŭen, om soe wy dolen, ons met onse gemeente van haer te laten onderwysen metten woorde des Heeren.

Is dan onse gevoelen ende naeste insien dat dese engelsen sonder wederom te dopen, soŭden aengenomen worden, ende wij vinden ons te blode, ende en soŭden niet dorŭen haren doop vernieŭwen, gelyck dit met ons van verre t'meesten-deel der gemeente bestemt is, als geseyt is, en dat om dese reden; namelyck, dat wy weten en selffs gesien en bevaren hebben datmen al eer die gene, die vande mŭnstersche, naeckt lopers van Amsterdam, vande Hazersoŭsche [?][1], en die van oŭde Clooster gedoopt waeren, niet heeft dorŭen weerdopen, maer sonder te weerdopen heeft aengenomen,: en wat voor dopen noch heden ten dagen voor goedt gekent worden: en op wat wijse en met wat gront dese lieden haer doop geschiet is, te weten een veele betere, en Christelijckere, nae onse oordel, die wij vande sake hebben als wyse teugen malcanderen hoŭden, dan de vorige die by ons geleden zyn, ende noch geleden worden. Ist nŭ lieŭe broeder dat v dŭnckt dat wij hier inne dolen, soe doet wel, is onse en der ganscher gemeente vrŭndelyck en broederlyck bidden en begeren, en coomt hier en onderwijst ons en de Gemeynte metten woorde Godts, wij willen ons geerne van een ygelycken laten onderwijsen, soe wy dolen en hier inne de waerheyt missen, onderwijst oock de engelsen wtten woorde godts, datse weer behoren gedoopt te worden; want sy presenteren haer wel te willen laten weer dopen, somen haer wtten woorde godts met reden bewysen can, dat haer doop min een doop mach strecken dan de doop der Flamingen, Friesen en andere doopsgesinden, (verstaet wel met onderscheyt de doop der gener die van haer predicker gedoopt is; want van syn doop, daer mede hy hem selŭen gedoopt heeft, hebben wy selue een ander onderscheijt, dat is een stŭck op hem selŭe,

[1] Evidently pertaining to Hazerswoude, a village south-east of Leyden

van de andere is nŭ de vrage, dit wilt ondescheyden) wij hebben daer geenen moet toe, also het v*er*standige lŭijden zijn, die niet sonder reden te paijen zyn. Wy bidd*en* v noch eenmael aenmerckt wat wy begeren lettet [?] op t'propoost, en bedenckt v wel, hebdy dat gevoel*en* by v. dat wy dolen, coomt tot ons en v*er*lost ons vande dolinge, en helpt ons te rechte: soe niet condy voldoen met stille sŭijg*en*, en de sake godt en onse conscientie beuel*en*, [*sic*]

[A Letter from the Waterland Congregation at Leeuwarden to the Waterlanders at Amsterdam, dated May 5, 1610 (Old Style), urging that a union with the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation be not too quickly consummated.][1]

Genade ende vrede van godt onsen vader ende
den heere Iesŭ christo sij seer lieŭe beminde br*oederen*
met ons allen die daar lieffhebben onsen heere
Iesŭm christŭm onuergancklyck Amen

Seer lieŭe ende In godt beminde broeder mede dienaer Inden heere Lŭbbert gerritsz met v lieŭe mede dienaren wij wenschen v l te samen van haerten alles goets vand*en* heere met christelijcke groetenisse [.] v l brieff aen ons gesonden hebb*en* wij ontfangen den inhoŭt vandien ten deile verstaen dat ghij l. br*oederen* aen ons versoecket begeerende sydt seer ootmoedelycken om by v l tot Amsterdam te kom*en* op den 23 Maij stilo noŭo die oorsaeke Soe wij verstaen van dien is om met den engelschen aldaer by v sijende vrede te maeken, waer op wij onse l br*oederen* op desen tijt voor antwoort schrieŭen dat het kom*en* voor ons Lŭijd*en* nŭ ter tijt seer ongelegen is, Oock laet ons mede het ongeŭall op het woort mercken want wij sien op verscheijden tijt doer verschrieŭen ende begeerten In hollant geweest om verscheijden saeken hebbende doenmaels onsen besten raet dien wij hadde gegeŭen, maer heeft seer wenich moegen helpen dat het tott vrede hadde moegen dienen, Iae

[1] MS. B. 1358 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 214–15.

maer tot ondanck ende onlŭst, dat ons Immers van haerten leijt is weet die heere, daerom beminde broederen ofte het al gelegen waer geweest voor ons om te komen doer v l ernstige begeerten, Soe sijn wij doch oŭer dese saeke om met den engelschen vrede te maeken, sonder meerder kennisse te hebben van haerder saeken niet vrijmoedich tis oock seer bedenckelycken ende wel te oŭerleggen, watter all aen onser sijden die noch in vreden sien daer wt soŭden moegen ontstaen want die erŭarenheijt leert het ons seer wel etc

Hierom dan lieŭe broederen soŭde onse meeninge weesen in deser saeken dat wij met onser gemeenten die wij onweerdich bedienen met open doeren onbedeckelycken soŭden begeeren te handelen, want het haere lŭijden soe wel aengaet als ons, Ende ofte wij luijden all by v l waeren saegen ende hoorden Soe en soŭden doch niet gesinnet syn voor onse persoonen in eenighe saeken te consenteren ofte ten waere dat wij ten eersten van v l schrieftelycken hadden, die cortte bekentenisse der voornaemster stŭcken onser leere ende gebrŭijcken der gemeenten die ghij haer luijden in schrieft gestelt hebt waerop dat sy lŭijden den vrede soŭden willen aennemen, op dat wij dat selfde by onser gemeenten oŭer all moechten proŭen, diewile dat die saeke l broederen naer v eijgen schrieŭen wijt ende sijdt loopen sall sonder dien soŭde het veele verantwoordens behoouen, Daerom soŭden wij gesint sijen ons voor onse gemeenten om te qŭijteren alles wat wij in deser saeken soŭden doen ende ingaen dat sij dat selfde mede wijsten ende oock in vreden ingingen op dat wij ons naemaels in geen moeten nochte onrŭste en braechten, diewile wij doch sonder de gemeenten niet en syen nochte sy mede niet sonder ons als een lichaem, Soe en behooren dan ofte wij alschoen onwerdige dienaers sijen, Immers sonder haeren voorweten in sŭlcke saeken niet te handelen want wij kennen lieŭe broederen den stant onser gemeenten alhier seer wel, dit is op het naeste onse eenvoedich insien van deser saeken [?] hoŭt het ons ten goeden, Soŭdet anders gaen dan wel dat soŭde ons van haerten leijt syen voor dijtmael niet meer dan blyft den heere in genaden te samen beŭolen met vrientlycke groetenisse in den heere des vredens bidt godt voor ons wij blyŭen seer gerne ŭwe schŭldenaers

desen 5 maij oŭden stijll anno 1610 In Leeuwarden by ons ondergeschreŭene

by mij Hans mathijs zoon

Ane Anesz Dijrck Doedesz

Ian Ians. zoen 1610

Schellinckwoŭ 5

6

Yeme de Rijnck

[A Letter of Yeme de Ringh at Harlingen to Lubbert Gerritsz., Hans de Ries, and Reynier Wybrantsz., dated May 15[?], 1610, and expressing the wish that the Confession of Faith of the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation (in 38 articles) might be sent to Friesland for the perusal of the Waterlanders there.][1]

Den
Eersamen Vromen Man
Renier Wybrants glaes-
maker in sint Lucas op de
Sijngel inde Menniste
Kercke.
Tot
Amsterdam
Loont den boode[2]

Laus deo XV[?] Mayo 1610 in Harlynghen

Van herten l beminde broederen ende mede Dienaers in *christo* Lubbert ger:[ritsz.] Hans der rys Renier Wibrants vl [v.l.] brieff van t' versoeck om aldaer by v te comen om d'engelsen handel te spreeken, is ons geworden de reste zyn terstont bij mij wort gesonden onse Leraren behalŭen Iacob tiewes hebben bij een geweest ende haer menijnge hier Ingaende gesonden an vl / het welcke[?] vl mocht visiteren / t schijnt dat zij liefst d'articulen die

[1] MS. B. 1359 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

[2] This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

bij vl dEngelsen syn ouergegeuen: Eerst hadden / om met den broederen die zelŭe te oŭersien op datter naderhant gheen moeyte wt en quame soo zij zorghen. Dus de vrienden connen doen wat haer Inne geraden Denckt„ k'en dencke nijet soo wij der schoon al quamen„dat wij misschien eendrachtig int verstant souden zijn ende dat mochte dan wel wat moyten maken sorgh ich„doch dat vl hier an de leraren uwe ouergegeue[ne ?] articulen sont en sije [zie] ick nijet voor quaed in. Want mij is zeer lieff dat syt nijet opt stŭck des doops (soot schynt) nemen waerom ick hoope soo se met onse geloue ende huyshoudijnge te vreeden connen syn, dattet wel door ouerschriuen ten goeden einde conde comen soot godt belieft. Dus bedenct v ten besten / want ick voor myn persoon hadde wel geern de zahe wat op een ander manijer gesien als dese / naemtlijch dat syselue getrocken hadden om alle dynghen te hooren en zien / ofte soo se nijet getrocken hadden dat syt ŭl [v.l.] hadden gantslijch in handen gestelt. Dan dit soot schijnt en heeft soo wel nijet conne[n ?] gaen / ende dat soo ick merke wt sorgvuldigheijt vande gemeenten hier. Daerom bidde Ick vl doet soo wel ende schrijft na hare begeeren d'articulen soo ghij se haer hebt ouergegeŭen ende al waert dattet de dienaer der engelsen mede ondertekende / ten soude nijet schaden mijns bedencken, doch doet soot v geraden denckt„ick hebbe dit mede ondertekent oftet wel soo gants na mijn menijnge nyet is / soo en can ick t toch soo quaet nijet schouwen, want als wy wat sonder onse gemeenten doen / soo crighen wij gemeynlich moeijte / want wij hebben vele stijŭe hoofden daer wy wat moeten na omsien / en ten is niet moglyck altyts in twist te leuen want onse gemeenten bloeyen nŭ redelijck god loff soo dat wy nu [?] in twee mael yn een maent oft 5 weken tyts / 40 personen onder t Doopsel gecregen hebben / en t ware ommers [immers] nyet goet onrŭst daer onder te brenghen. Voorder gaet hier by eenen brieff die ick ter s[ton]t [?] van Rippert ontffangen hebbe ende by mij onwetend opgebrooken..en [?] [? ni]et al gelesen / alsoo ick noch op t bedde lach / doen den brieff

quam / dit met al mijn [?] ten besten afnemen t is onwetend geschiet. nyet meer dan syt hartlyck gegroet met al die v lieff zijn.

V. L. D[ienaer] yeme de Rijnck

[A Letter of Willem Janszoon, Teacher at Rynsburg, to Reynier Wybrantsz. at Amsterdam, dated May 18, (1610), concerning the proposed meeting on May 23 for discussion of a union with the Smyth Remnant.][1]

Den
Eersaemen ende vroemen reijner
Wybrant soen wonende tot amsterdam[2]

Weest hertelick gegrŭet

Nae wenscinge alles gŭets vanden here sae laet ick mijn lieŭe ende ingodbeminde brŭeder ende medehelper inden evangelio reijner wijbrant soen weten dat ick v scriŭen ontfangen hebbe ende hebbe daer wt verstaen als dat daer sommige iverige herten wt engelant gecaemen syn die daer met v l soecken te verenigen ende dat gy met haer daer meermaelen van onse hŭishoŭdinge gesproecken hebt ende wterlick in belidinge met malcanderen enich syt soe ick verstae ende scrijft aen ons onwaerdich om daer op den 23 mey met sommige van onse mede dijeners daer te coemen om met malcanderen te oŭer leggen om op het beqŭaemste met haer te spreecken ende dat ick sommige soŭde mede brengen die latijn verstaen ende spreecken connen soe laet ick mijn l b [lieve broeder] ende mede-diener weten dat het mijn op dien dach niet gelegen en comt want mijn woort staet om die dach op een ander plaetse te comen dat welcke ick niet mach verleggen om redens wille mer hebbe meester Iacob ende Cornelis van beest daer tŭe beweecht om dan daer by v l te wesen die wijle sy latijn verstaen ende spreecken connen ende dat gy meer helps van haer sŭlt hebben dan van ons die wijle wy

[1] MS. B. 1360 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

[2] This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

die spraeck niet en verstae*n* die heer wil v altesaemen wijsheit ende verstant geŭen dat het mach gescieden tot eere des euangeliŭms tot stichtinge van veele godtvrŭchtigen en*de* tot lof en*de* dancbaerheit van gods heylige naem en*de* tot salichkeit van onse dier gecochte siele daer verlene ons god syn genaede tŭe ame*n*

Willem Ian soen w$^{t}$ reynsbŭrch den 18 meij [1610.]

[A Letter from Dirk Pieters at Hoorn to Lubbert Gerritsz. at Amsterdam, dated May 21, 1610, in which he excuses himself, Abel Hendriksen, Gijsbert Dirks, and Jacob Adriaansz. from attending the meeting on May 23 concerning a union with the Remnant of John Smyth's Church.][1]

Anden Eersame Clas
Iansen brŭijn
om voort tee bestellen
Aen lŭbbert gerretzn
Tot
Amster dam[2]
Dr*ie* SS [stuivers]...
die boed*e* sijn loon

Godts genade voer eenen vrintlijcken groete Amen

Eersame Heer hartelijcke lieŭe ende In godt beminde broeder (vader) ende meede dienaer Inden here Lubbert Gerretsen Also wij v l onder teijckenden brieff vanden 6 deses ontŭangen hebben ende den Selleŭen met andacht well oeŭer (ende wederoeŭer gesien ende met Comer [Commer] nae bedacht //. Soo hebben wij met onse dienaren besproecken (ende onse mede die*naeren* / als Aebell hendericksen Gijsbert Dircksen ende Iacop ariensen antboeden [)(?)] / met haer raet hoŭdende vinden wij t voert beste voer onse gemoet (ende voer den heere) om niet te coemen nae v l begeerten // bidde darom wilt het ons ten besten hoŭden // t geschiet niet dat v l ons des

[1] MS. B. 1361 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists".

[2] This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

niet werdich en Sijt gensins Iae alwaert noch tien maell meer dat weet die heere / dan om Sekere gewichtege oorsacke dien wij meenen datoe te hebben // Soŭeele noŭ die Sacke belangt darom wij verschreŭen Sijn is onse eenŭŭldige [?] raet ende beede dat ghij toch versichtich [?] ende Sorrchŭŭldich [?] wilt handelen ende niet licht tot eenen voort ganck en Consenteert om eenige perijckelen die darouer ontstaen moegen / op dat wij niet ande eene kant timmeren ende ande andere velmeer brecken // want lieŭe b*roeder* wij Sien well waner all enige gescheijden volcken tesamen comen hoe Swarlick het valt den Selleŭen in vrede tee behoŭden gelijck den tegenwoordigen stant alte vell ons leert // nochtans weten wij dat die vrŭchten der gerechticheijt wort in vreden geseijt bijden geenen die den vrede hoŭden / darom lieŭe beminde b*roeder* laet ons het geene hoŭden dat ons de heere verleent heeft / op dat wij niet en verliesen dat wij gewrach[t] hebben maer vollen loon vanden heere moegen ontŭangen / hier toe wil ons die heere helpen ende bijstaen [?] nŭ ende in Eewicheijt amen Sijt hier mede den here beŭoelen ende van harten gegroet met des heren vrede / date*ert* hooren den 2i meij Anno i6i0

Bij mij dirrick Pieterzn v l
mede dienar Inden heere

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[The Draft of a Letter sent by the Waterlanders at Amsterdam to the congregation in Leeuwarden, dated July 16, 1610 (New Style), asking for an early answer as to their opinion of the enclosed Confession of Faith in 38 articles, and also of the value of the baptism of John Smyth's followers.][1]

Gunstige & in Godt beminde br*oederen* & mededienar*en* in den heere Ian Schellingwouv, ofte Hans Mathijs met vwe medehelper*en* daer ontrent in d*en* dienst des her*en* v wenschen wij toe des Heeren vrede, & een genadige v*oor*lichtinge in Christo op alle vwe wege*n*, Amen

[1] MS. B. 1362 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is printed in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 215–16. This document is so poorly written as to be most difficult to decipher with exactness.

Het belieue v by dese*n* te wete*n* dat wy seer ver*langen* nae bescheyt & antwoorde opt'gene wy een tytlanck gelede*n* aen v liede*n* ver*socht* e*n* begeert hebben, aengaende de saken der Engelse*n*, die wy v.l. bekent gemaeckt hebbe*n*, en syn ver*wondert* waerom de sake by v soe weynich beherticht schynt te worde*n*, daerof wij beschaemt syn voor de liede*n*, naŭlych wete*n* wat antwoorde*n*, dat de sake dus voortrecht. Is derhalŭe*n* onse versoeck & eernstich begere*n* aen v lieden, wilt de sake niet langer voortrecke*n*, maer ons cortelyck en binnen veertijen dage*n* tyts nae dato deses antwoorde toeschicken door v comste selffs in p*er*sone, ist mogelyck dat wy soe vele by v gelde*n* moge*n* ofte soe niet, schriftelyck, op dese twe stŭcke*n*: Eerstelyck wat ghij in de bekentenis, die wy v toegesonde*n* hebbe*n* nae v begere*n* omdat ghij met vwe gemeente*n* proeŭe*n* wolt metten woorde Godts te bestraffe*n* e*n* weder te ver*beteren* hebt; te*n* andere*n* wat wt cracht van t woort Godts van haere*n* doope te hoŭde*n* is. nae v gevoele*n*. En van dit laeste stŭck hadden wij insonderheijt opt spoedechste geerne antwoorde; & goedt onderwijs. Het welche soe ghij ons omtrent de tyt voorgenoemt niet toe en schickt, soe sŭllen wy daer voor houde*n* dat ghij t ons beŭeelt en geheel in hande*n* stelt, om te doen en te late*n* naedat wy t hier met onse gemeente best vinde*n* sullen na de wysh*eijt* die wij hebbe*n* en dat ghy v daer in gerŭst sult[?] hoŭde*n*, e*n* na der tyt te vrede*n* syn, dus wilt v beneerstige*n* [= haasten], is onse bede..., soo ghij ons met Gront van Godts woort ter eener oft-ter anderer zyde*n* te waerschoŭwe[n?] hebben [= hebt] e*n* te*n* beste*n* te onderwyse*n* hebt, dat ons sŭlckx ylich [= spoedig] als geseyt is toegesonde*n* werde, op dat wy te eer hoe beter ter sake moeten doen gelyck wy schuldich syn. beneŭe*n* ditte niet meer dan hertelycke groete ae*n* v onse*n* lieue*n* bro*ederen*, & mededienare*n* in den eŭangelio des here*n* daer in Frieslant, Iesus met syn geest blyŭe ewelyck by v, Ame*n*

In Amsterdam dese*n* 16$^{en}$ Iŭly A*nno* 1610. stilo noŭo.

by ons

[A Letter, dated July 18, 1610, from the Waterlanders in Leeuwarden (Friesland), stating their disapproval of the proposed union with the Remnant of John Smyth's congregation, whose baptism they term something unheard of, "een noeijtt gehoerde sake".][1]

Myn harte is zeer well aen den regenten In ysraell
de daer vriwillich zyn Onder den volke: Sed ne quid Nimis

Naer lieffelike groetenisse ende goeden genegentheit Onsers harten zeer Lieŭe ende wellbeminde Broederen ende mede dienaeren aen den Rike gods Lŭbbert Gerrijtzen samptt vwe mede dienaeren wij Ondergescreuen mogen v[.] L[.] niet onthouden onse verwondernise oŭer v ijŭerich ende driftich schriŭen aen ons gedaen int welke ghij heden vordertt onsen antwoirdtt bennen—14—dagen oft namaels ons gerŭst te dragen oŭer de aleantije ofte verhandelinge van vereniginge metten engelschen aldaer by v gehoŭden ende voirgenomen *etc* wij syn L[.] mannen oŭer d sake zeer bedacht, waerom v L adŭijs van ons vvt vrieslantt soe driftich ende ijuerich vordertt ende versochtt hoe well hett een geheel nyewe ende noeijtt gehoerde sake is. de well behoerlyck maer datt alle Gemeenten In Prŭijsen als mede doer duijtslant ende all omme geseten bekent waer gelyck v Lieŭe [?] Broederen noch well bekendtt sall syn watt woorden ende beloften geschiett syn by ons In voerige verhandelde saken niet meer nyewes sonder vragaen den [?] raadt van allen t hoŭden, watt opsichtt dese haestige t zamenlopinge ofte vereniginge deses volcx mett haer absŭrden werck [?] standtt ende dienst by verscheiden Gemeenten als particŭliere personen oŭer all maken sall, Condtt ghij self L: Mannen aff meten is niet nodich int breedste te extenderen, dan Cortelick voir [voor] ons dochte hett well raaetzaem Onder correctie In dese sake noch watt te vieren soe yŭerich ende vierich niet te wesen doen wenden vele meer allen mogeliken vlytt arbeit ende nersticheit aen om de Rŭyne schaden verdarff ende onderganck der Gemeenten oŭer den waterlandeschen vredemakinge

[1] MS. B. 1363 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 216–18.

oft ver*e*niginge datt datt [*sic*] erst ouer een side mochte gebracht worden dien brandtt gelesschett d g*emeen*ten gevredicht en*de* wederom In rŭste en*de* stillicheit gebrocht [gebracht] soŭde ons een hartelike vruechde en*de* blijdtschap des harten sy*n*, ver*l*aett toch so licht de oŭde vrienden n*iet* met ver*k*iesen der Nyewen de soelen velichtt [?] noch well soe goett n*iet* syn, d ver*m*eerderinge des rycx en*de* ver*b*eteringe der kercken Cristi is ons van harten lieff kendtt godtt d here, maer mett ver-stroyinge der vrienden is n*iet* te wenschen, dese schade doett ons int Harte wee, v onmatigen ijuer heeft datt mede gewrochtt, wij willen datt daer bij affcorten oft wij well dien angaende vele meer hadden t zeggen Watt aengaett t ver*s*oeck om onsen aduijs en*de* Proeŭe de ghij begeert oŭer de geconcipieerde –38. gelooffs articŭlen is t ver*g*eefs, d wile d selfde In gedrŭckte boeken voir alle man aen den dach sy*n* gebracht mogen wij nŭ mett v een algemey*n*[e ?] ordell van all man daer van ver*w*achten ver*s*taen daerom Impartinent int besunder van ons te vorderen (den tydt sall leren d com*m*oditeit is bij velen noch n*iet* anders geweest obiter [?] eens gesien en*de* oŭerlesen verwacht den tydt men heeft hier oick mede watt anders te doene, Ten laetsten datt v L voir all en*de* ten principale onsen aduijs en*de* In sien oŭer haren doop vordertt, ver*w*ondert ons seer aen gesien ghij lieden v Insien en*de* goedtbedŭncken oŭer dat stuck n*iet* en ver*t*oontt hett welke v behoerdtt hadde, datt dan gesien hebbende mochten wij t zelŭe proeŭen en*de* het onse daer by stellen en*de* also t beste mett melkanderen ver*k*iesen, doch Cortelick soe vele daer op voier een antwoirdtt onder Correctie wij en kennen noch weten van sŭlken gebruijck ordinantie ofte doen vth [wt] met der h. schriftŭren n*iet*, syn d*aer*om bloede en*de* onvrymoedich vele daer van t zeggen t is een noeijtt gehoerde sake willen d*aer*om dat In syn waer de laten en*de* ons aen den woorde godes hoŭden daer wij op bescheiden zy*n* en*de* n*iet* op menschen werck ofte doen, hier medde houden wij voir desen Instancie v schriŭen en*de* ver*s*oeck genoechsaem beantwoordtt en*de* wiltt voirtan vwe dienst en*de* amptes plicht In desen en*de* allen anderen bevorderen (In dien onsen antwoordtt v L n*iet* genoech en*de* vull kan doen mett ver*w*illinge en*de* ontbiedinge der saken gelegentheit oŭer all en*de* alomme

In allen Plaetzen voiren v*er*haeltt, hoŭdtt goeden raadtt en*de* beneffens oick d wachte oŭer d kudde des heren Laett ons dese Iegenwoirdige schaden eerst soeken toe boeten eermen watt nyewes v*er*neemtt datt bidden en*de* v*er*manen wij v en*de* blyfft hier mede alle t zamen den ewigen en*de* allmogenden*n* godtt en*de* syn genaden*n* rike woordtt In ewige en*de* genadige bewaringe beuolen en*de* hartelick t samen van ons vwe onw*erdige* Bro*ederen* en*de* mede d*ienaeren* gegroett vaertt well den .18. Iŭly. 1610

| | Dijrck Doedesz | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| M$^{r}$ Doŭwe Sijbrants | 1610 | 7 | |
| bij mij Hans mathijsz | | 18 | houtt |
| Ick woorde haest moede in desen wtbecommeringe | | | mate |

[A Memorandum made by Claes Claeszoon Anslo at Amsterdam on Jan. 17, 1611/2 stating the wish of Lubbert Gerritsz., expressed on his death-bed, that a union between the Waterlanders and the Remnant of John Smyth's Congregation might be speedily effected.][1]

Copije

1612 [? New Style]

Den 17$^{e}$ Ianuarij alsoe Lubbert gerretsz seer cranck te bedde lach heeft hij die dienaers alle / en*de* oock hans de Rijs / Ian mŭnter / nittert obbesz / cornelis albertsz / en*de* mijn Claes claesz / (behalŭen mathijs lutso [?] die absent was) genraecht [?] Koefoot selffs sijn hertelijcke begeren was soe hij seijde en*de* wel dudelijcke hem verklaerden oft oock onser aller begeren was / dat Reijner wybrans [?] inden vollen dienst mocht beuesticht werden / dewijl hij een tijt lanck die gemeente int woort goods bedient hadde / seggende dat hij daer wel in gerŭst was / dewijll hij het woort goods het meeste wesende getroŭ in beŭonden was / dat hem het wiste [?] te weten die sacramenten wel oock te betrowen waren / waer op wij alle Iae antwoorden / en*de* dewijll het op senen [?] na met die gehele gemeijnte

[1] MS. B. 1366 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Apparently not given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists."

met stillswygen vredelick bestempt was vraechden Lubbert gerretsz doen oock Reynier wybrans / oft hij door goods ghenaeden bereijt was den swaren dienst aen te nemen / welcke onder die selŭe genaeden oock Iae antwoorden / doen heeft Lubbert gerretsz hem de handt opt hooft geleijt / hem wenschende veele goede toewenschingen van godt ende hem alsoe beŭesticht ende hem nergent aen verbonden als aen den woorden goods / seggende oock dat hij groote blyschap hadde gehadt dat met alle die mannen int [?] lestleeden alle Concepten neder geleijt waren ende dat men alleen nae den woorde goods alles sall handelen heeft vorder oock ernstelick begeert dat men die saecke doch niet Int vergen soude stellen vande engelsche / maer metten eersten voltrecken soe het mogelick ware dan seijde Inden doop van M^r^ smidt [John Smyth] wat bedencken hadde / alsoe hij daer geen scriftŭer [?] toe en hadde / maer nu well [wilde] gerŭst alle die andere engelschen / sonder weder te dopen op tenemen / vorder begerde hij oock aen nittert obbes / dat hij die verkiesinghe voor desen geschiet / wilde doch behertigen ende hem gelaten stellen ende door goods ghenaeden sijn beste doen / het welck nittert obbes oock onder die selue ghenaeden aen nam / ende wert door Lubbert gerretsz oock alsoe begeert dat matheus [?] Iansz oock doen soŭde die welcke daer niet present was maer die dienaers belooffden dat oock te vorderen ende hebben Reynier wybrans alle met eenen kŭsse ontffangen ende alsoe in vreden vriendelyck gescheijden ende Lubbert gerretsz met eenen cŭsse des heeren ghenaden beŭolen ende goeden nacht gewenscht—ende hadde Lubbert gerretsz oock te vooren hans de Rijs gebeeden alsoe Reyner wybrans een Ionck man was dat hij hem doch in alles met Raet ende daet wilde te hulpe komen / ende met hem alle dingen ouerwegen ende handelen als sij tesaemen hadden gedaen / het sij mondelingh ofte aen mallcanderen te scrijŭen nae gelegentheijt der saecken / verklaerden lubbert gerretsz oock ende begeerden / datmen int verhandelen der sacramenten in alles soŭden handelen tot die meeste stichtinghe der gemeenten / seggende op somyge

plaetsen stellen bij een taffell daer omtrent 20 teffens aen gaen sitten / op andere plaetsen anders men soude daer in handelen / wat met die meeste vreede mochtte geschieden / dat hij t wel aen een taffell inde Rijp[1] hadde toe gedient ende oock op adere plaetsen etc

Claes claesz ansloo

Dit hebbe ick strach den selŭen dach voor een memorije gescreŭen soe haest als ick t hŭijs qŭam

[An early English Anabaptist Petition, probably written in 1614 (by Thomas Helwys ?).][2]

To the right Honorable assemblie of the Commons-house of Parliament. /

A most humble supplication of divers poore prisoners, and many others the kinges maiesties loyall subiectes ready to testifie it by y^e^ oath of allegeance in all sinceritie, whose Greviances are lamentable, onely for cause of conscience. /

Most humbly sheweing.. That whereas in y^e^ Parliament holden in the 7^th^ yere of the kinges maiesties Raigne that now is, it was enacted that all persons whatsoever aboue the age of 18. yeres, not comeing to Church &c. should take the oath of allegeance; and for the refusall thereof, should be committed to prison without baile &c. By which Statute the Popish Recuzantes vpon takeing the oath, are daily delivered from imprisonementes: and divers of vs also are set at libertie when wee fall vnder the handes of y^e^ Reverend Iudges & Iustices, But when wee fall vnder the handes of the Bishops wee can have no benifitt by the said oath, for they say it belongeth onely to Popish recuzantes, & not to others; but kept have wee bene by them many yeres in lingering imprisonementes, devided from wives, children, servantes & callinges, not for any other cause but onely for conscience towardes God, to the vtter vndoeing of vs, our wives & children. /

[1] De Rijp is a village in North Holland.

[2] MS. in the Library of the House of Lords, London, calendared under the date, 1613.

Our most humble Supplication therefore to this high & Honorable assemblie is, that in commiseration of the distressed estate of vs our poore wives & children it may be enacted in expresse wordes that other the kinges maiesties faithfull subiectes, as well as Popish Recuzantes may be freed from imprisonementes vpon taking the said oath. /

And wee shall still (as wee do day & night) pray that the God of heaven may be in your Honorable assemblie, for by him do Princes decree Iustice. /

By his maiesties faithfull subiectes

most falsely called

reiected by the

Anabaptistes.

comittee

[An undated Latin Confession of Faith by Richard Overton, probably written in 1615.][1]

Credo corde & confiteor ore

[?1.] Vnum tantum esse Deum, vnum Christum, vnum Spiritum Sanctum, vnam Ecclesiam, vnam veritatem, vnam fidem, vnam veram Religionem.

2 In Dietate [*sic*] sunt tres personæ realiter distinctæ, Vater, Filius & Spiritus S. coeternales, coequales & coessentiales; omnes & singuli eorum vnus et idem Deus, non diuisæ sed distinctæ realiter inter se proprietatibus suis, viz. creatione, Redemptione & sanctificatione.

3. Deus Pater est illius Esse à se non ab alio; Filius est idem illud Esse, non à se, sed a patre; Spiritus S. est idem illud Esse, sed non à se, sed a Patre & Filio: Ita Esse seu essentia diuina horum trium eadem est, et numero vna.

4. Hæc Trinitas in vnitate coli et venerari debet in spiritu et veritate, et qui Deum sic veneratur fruetur vita

[1] MS. B. 1353 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. I., pp. 254–56.

æterna, et modus Dei sic venerandi perfectè exprimitur per ipsum Deum in Veteri et Nouo testamento per manus prophetarum et Apostolorum, et qui vllo alio modo colit Deum, quàm illo his duobus testamentis expresso, fuerit ejectus è fauore & præsentia Dei cum Dæmonibus et suis Angelis in mortem æternam.

5. Quinto, credo et confiteor, quod Dominus norster [*sic*] Iesus Christus ab Apostolis prædicatus, fuit ipse Messias ab æterno promissus, de quo Prophetæ vaticinabantur & scribebant.

6 Sexto, credo omnia in Lege & Evangelio scripta & contenta esse vera, diuina & ab omnibus sic æstimanda & retinenda.

6 7°. Christum vnigenitum Dei filium esse Sacerdotem prophetam & regem secundem [*sic*] ordinem Melchesideci in æternum. Et ecclesia sua à nullo alio neque Cælo, terra & Inferis, sed ab ipso gubernari debet

Munus ejus propheticum est .1. reuelare voluntatem Patris; .2. instituere [?] ministerium; 3. intus docere seu efficacem esse per ministerium.

Munus Sacerdotale est, 1. docere nos, et aliter quidem, quàm alij sacerdotes, hoc est non tantum auribus per verbum, sed etiam in cordibus per S. S. .2. Offerre se victimam propitiatoriam pro omnibus & singulis totius mundi peccatis .3. orare & intercedere pro nobis perpetuò apud patrem. Ita vt ejus victima satis et sufficiens est pro omnibusque & [*sic*] singulis rationalibus in toto rerum vniverso degentibus, ad eorum redemptionem & salutem, si ijs propria fide adhibeatur & ad finem perseueratur.

Munus Regium constat in ejus resurrectione è mortuis et ascentione in cælum ad dextram patris vincens & sub pedibus ejus eijciens Orcum, mortem, peccatum & finalem condemnationem; omni potentia in cælo & terra spiritualiter gubernans suam Ecclesiam, adornans eam donis spiritualibus, ac tandem eam liberans ab omnibus malis; et planè debellatos in æternas pœnas detrudens.

vera & visibilis ejus Ecclesia est quidam numerus populi,

è mundo per verbum dei seperati, & per Baptismum fidei et rescipiscentiæ collecti & constituti.
Concescit Christus hujus Ecclesiæ plenam potentiam & autoritatem inter se juncto eorum beneplacito et vnanimo mente eligere personas ad gerendum officia in hac Ecclesia. Et hæc et nulla alia sunt amplectanda viz: pastorum Doctorum, presbyte[ro]rum, Diaconorum & subministratorum; qui per verbum Dei ab om[n]i parte qualificantur & approbantur.
Officia omnia Antichristiana cujuscunque fuerint generis in hanc Ecclesia[m] non sunt admittenda sed funditus exterpanda:
omnes humanæ traditiones & opiniones sunt odio cordis prosequenda et fugienda; et si vnquam a quibusdam sint assumpta, non sunt fouenda sed statim deponenda: ~: sed priusquam progrediar aut ad finem perveniar ne sit quæso vobis molestum nosse me Anglicum esse nuper Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ; sed convictus verbo Dei & spiritu sanct[o] omnes ejus errores depono & in æternum renuntio, et toto animo & mente cupio per baptismum in veram Ecclesiam intrare.
porro credo duo tantum esse Sacramenta in Ecclesia Christi administranda & amplectanda, videlicet, Baptismi & Cæni Dominici: et hæc Sacramenta pænitentibus & fidem exhibentibus administranda & communicanda ita vt vterque eorum Infantibus omnibus et infidelibus omnibus sunt deneganda / quippe talibus non pertinent.
postremò, pænitet me plurimum peccati, et tristitiâ et mærore confiteor me peccatorem maximum esse et hucvsque in peccatis summis et quotidianis vixisse, sed eorum remissionem expecto et quæro per Iesum Christum æternum Dei filium, et post mortem in vitam æternam intrare; In illius nomine itaque totis viribus Corporis et animæ exopto et desidero in veram Ecclesia[m] per Baptismum intrare et perseuerare

Quid restat ergo quin Baptizar. /

Richardus Overton

A Copie rightly related of an Anabaptists Letter, written to his sometimes accounted Christian Bretheren, shewing the cause of his separation *from the Church of England, indited by a principall Elder, in and of that Separation*[1].

BEloued Friends, the ancient loue that I haue had towards you, prouoketh me to testifie, that I haue not forgotten you, but am desirous still to shew my vnfained loue vnto you in any thing I may. I make no question but you haue heard diuers false reports of mee, although among the same some truths, and that you may be truely informed of my estate, I thought good to write a few words vnto you, hoping you will not speak euill of that you know not, nor condemne a man vnheard.

The thing wherein I differ from the Church of England, is, they say at their washing or baptizing in their Infantcy, They are mẽbers, children of God, and inheritours of the kingdome of heauen. This I dare not beleeue; for the scriptures of God declare, that neither flesh, nor washing the flesh can saue. Flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdome of God: for that is flesh, is flesh, and wee cannot enter into the kingdome of God, except wee be borne againe: They that haue prerogatiue to bee the sons of God, must bee borne of God, euen beleeue in his name: and the washing off the filth of the flesh, is not the Baptisme that saueth, but a good conscience maketh requests to God. If any bee in Christ, hee is a new creature. The consequence of this is, that Infants are not to bee baptized, nor can bee Christians; but such onely as confesse their Faith, as these Scriptures teach.

There is neither command, example, or iust consequence for

[1] From I. P.'s "Anabaptismes Mysterie of Iniquity Unmasked." etc., London, 1623, pp. 1–11. This letter, it will be remembered, was written by one who became an Anabaptist for a time, but returned into the Church of England before this book was printed. The letter is signed "H. N.", though Benjamin Stinton read it "H. H." Thomas Crosby printed it as Stinton read it, and followed Stinton in ascribing its authorship to Thomas Helwys, although the initials "H. H." are not those of Helwys. This letter as printed by Crosby has been used to show that Helwys lived until after the date May 10, 1622, a most false conclusion. See Vol. I., pp. 256–57.

Infants Baptisme, but for the baptizing of Beleeuers: There is besides of the Church of God to be considered what it is: It will plainely appeare, that Infants cannot bee of it; they that know the language from whēce the word Church is taken, can witnesse that it signifieth a people called out; and so the Church of Christ is a company called out of their former estate wherein they were by nature, out of *Babylon*, wherein they haue been in spirituall bondage to the power of Antichrist, and from hauing fellowship in spirituall worship with vnbeleeuers and vngodly men, from all whosoeuer commeth out, they are fit timber for his spirituall building, which is a habitation of God by the spirit, and the houshold of faith: Those thus come out of nature, Egyptian bondage, and the fellowship of the children of Beliall, being newe Creatures; and so holy Brethren are made Gods house or Church, through being knit together by the Spirit of God, and baptized into his body, which is the Church. This being vndeniable, the Church of Christ, Infants cannot bee of it, for they cannot bee called out as aforesaid: knowne wicked men cannot be of it, because they are not called out; nor Antichrists spirituall bondage cannot bee of it, because that is a habitation of Deuils, and all Gods people must goe out of that. What can be iustly obiected against this? are not all the sonnes of God by faith? If any be in Christ, or a Christian, must hee not bee a new Creature? I pray you doe not take vp the vsuall obiection which the Antichristians haue learned of the Iewes: What tellest thou vs of being made Christians onely by faith in the Sonne, and so being made free, wee are the children of *Abraham*, and of Beleeuers. Wee are vnder the promise, I will bee the God of thee and thy seed: thus are we and our children made free, when as they neither doe nor can beleeue in the Sonne. This is a Iewish Antichristian fable, for *Abraham* had two sonnes, which were types of the two Seedes, to the which two Couenauntes are made, the one borne after the flesh, tiping out the fleshly Israelites, which were the Inhabitants of materiall Ierusalem, where was the material Temple, and the performance of those carnall Rites which endured vnto the time of Reformation.

The other by Faith, typing out the children of the faith of

*Abraham*, which are the Inhabitants of the spirituall Ierusalem, the new Testament in which is the spirituall Temple, the Church of the liuing God, and the performance of all those spirituall Ordinances which Christ Iesus as Prophet and King thereof, hath appoynted, which remaines, and cannot be shaken or altered.

Now if the olde Couenant bee abolished, and all the appertainings thereof, as it is, as being similitudes of heauenly things, euen the Couenant written in the booke, the people, the Tabernacle, or Temple, and all the ministring Vessels, and a better Couenant established, vpon better promises, and better Temple and ministring vessels come instead thereof, procured and purchased by the blood of Iesus Christ, who is the new and liuing way. Let vs draw neere with a true heart in assurance of Faith, sprinkled in our hearts from an euill conscience, & baptized in our bodies with pure water. Let vs keepe this profession of hope without wauering, and haue no confidence in the flesh, to reap Iustification or Christianitie thereby; but let vs cast it away as dung and drosse: For if euer any might plead priuiledge of being the child of the faithful, the Apostle *Paul* might, as hee saith, read the place, but it was nothing till hee had the Righteousnesse of God through Faith. Then was he baptized into Christ Iesus for the remission of his sinnes. This Couenant, that we as children of *Abraham*, challenge is the couenant of life and saluation by Iesus Christ, made to all the children of *Abraham*, as it is made to *Abraham* himselfe, to them that beleeue in him that raised vp Iesus our Lord from the dead; and also *Acts* 13. 26. 32 39. the children of the flesh are not they, Rom. 9. 8. they must bee put out, and must not bee heyres with the faithfull: If they that are of the Lawe bee heires, Faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect: therefore it is by Faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might bee sure to all the seed that are of the faith of *Abraham*, who is the Father of all the faithfull. They are his children, the promise of saluation is not made with both *Abrahams* seeds, but with his one seed, they that are of the Faith of *Abraham*. These things may bee strange to those that are strangers from the life of God, through

the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardnesse of their hearts God hath written them as the great things of his Lawe, but they are counted of many as a strange thing, but Wisdome is iustified of all her children, & they that set their hearts to seeke wisdome, as siluer, and search for her as for treasure, they shal see the righteousnesse of those things as the light, and the euidence of them as the noone day. They that bee wise, will trie these things by the true touch-stone of the holy Scriptures, and leaue off reioycing in men, to hang their Faith & Profession on them, the which I cease not to supplicate God, day and night on the behalfe of you all, To whose gracious direction I commit you, with a remembrance of my hartie loue to euery one, desiring but this fauour, that for requital I may receiue your louing answere.

*London.* 10. *Maij* 1622.

*Yours to be commanded alvvayes*
*in any Christian Seruice.*

H. N.

I haue sent to my Friends a testimonie of my loue: one booke to Master *Strowd*, one to Goodman *Ball*, one to Mistris *Fountaine*, one to *Roger Seely*, one to *Samuel Quash*, and one to your selfe.

*I beseech you reade, consider, and the Lord giue you vnderstanding in all things.*

[A letter from the "teachers and Ministers of the dutch and english Churches" in Amsterdam, dated May, 1624, to the Congregation of Elias Tookey, which had been excommunicated by John Murton and the then existing Five English Anabaptist Congregations.][1]

Vermeerderinge in godlijcke wysheijt, ende kennisse der goddelycke waerheyt, wenschen wy

[1] MS. B. 1367 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This transcript is made from the contemporary copy of the original MS. The original is becoming difficult to read. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 32–7.

van gansher herten, onse gelieŭede vrinden, die den voorsmaeck hebben der hemelscher dingen, en*de* 16. int getal syn, mits [?] allen den geenen, die ontrent haer syn, ende om de waerheijt ijŭeren, van godt den vader en*de* Iesŭ Christo onsen heere ende algemeynen salichmaker. Amen.

Seer behertichde vrinden, wij hebben onlancx v, l, schrijŭen vanden 29. Maert stilo antiqŭo ontfangen, en*de* met vreŭchden gelesen. Godt danckende vande genade, die hy on*ver*dient, door syn lyeffde ende vriendelyckheyt, oŭer v lieden ryckelyck wtgestort heeft, daer in dat hij, in dese *ver*duijsterde [?] werelt, de eŭangelische waer*heyt*, in v laet schijnen, ŭwe oogen des gemoedts *ver*licht, en*de* tot prys synder heerlycker genaden, en vorderinge ŭwer sielen salicheijt, met erkentenis syns wils v lieden aengedaen heeft. Wij bidden by [*sic*] lieŭen Godt, dat hij dat aengevangen werck, door den dienst Christi, wil segenen, ende den opganck der sonnen, die inden morgenstont doorbreeckt, en*de* opgaet tot den vollen dach toe, in v lieden herten wil gelyck maken, en*de* v allen daer by genade ende hemelsche cracht geŭen, op dat ghij door een affgestorŭen heijlich leuen, vwe *ver*lichtinge onder dit *ver*keert geslacht, dat syn wandelinge heeft inde dŭijsterheijt der sonden, moocht wtdrŭcken, ende bekent maken, tot godes eere, vorderinge ŭwer salicheijt, en*de* veeler *ver*lichtinge en*de* beteringe. Amen.

Wij syn beweecht geworden aen v allen te antwoorden, en*de* te bewijsen onse hertlycke goede genegentheijt, en*de* Christlycke affectie tot ŭwarts; als oock die vreŭchde, die wij geschept hebben indien aenvangk van ŭwe *ver*lichtinge. V lieder christlycke groete is ons aengenaem geweest. ende oft het getal der geenre [geene], die de heere belieft heeft met kennisse der waerheijt te begnadigen, noch cleen is, soe hebben wij ons hertlyck *ver*blydt, *ver*troŭwende dat godt het aengevangen licht syner waerheyt by veelen sal laten door breecken, gelyck de geboorte Christi naden vleesche eerst weynige werdt bekent gemaeckt, maer daer nae wijdt

is wtgebreydt, also syn wy in goeder hoop en dat de geboorte en*de* kennisse Christi naden geest, die in v aengevangen is, oock wij der sal doorbreecken, tot veeler behoŭdinge en*de* salicheyt.

Wij hebben met ver*l*angen ver*w*acht op v lieder schrijŭen, gelyck wij ver*s*taen dat ghy oock ver*l*anght hebt om eenich schryŭen van ons te becomen. De oorsaken van v lieder ver*t*reck gedenckt ghij, wij nemen [?] die in lyeffden op. De onse syn geweest om dat wij, nae v l, afscheydt van ons, geen schriftelyck bescheijt van v, l, en hebben gecregen, hoe onse schriften en*de* mondtlycke redenen, die wy met ŭwe boden gehadt hebben, by den ŭwen geacht waeren, dit wilt ons oock int goede affnemen.

Wt v l. schrijuen ver*s*taen wij dat ghij van Ian Morton met den synen geexcommŭniceert, ofte wt haere ver-gaderinge geworpen syt. De voornaemste oorsaecke soŭde syn v lieder gevoelen vande ver*d*raechsaemheijt der swacken, ofte cleen ver*s*tandige*n* in schriftŭerlycke ver-standen, die nochtans conscientieŭs syn in alles dat sy waerlyck weeten, en stil en vreedtsaen [*sic*] inde gemeinte syn. etc Dus is leedt geweest sŭlcx te hooren, en t'heeft ons van herten misvallen. Wij wenschen die v lieden ver*w*orpen hebben meerder wijsheijt; dat ghij lieden ver*d*ŭldelyck draecht alle de iniŭrien, die v om gemelder saken oŭervallen, die niet weynich ver*w*eest en syn, en*de* noch niet op en hoŭden, en*de* v ver*l*aet op de oprechtich*eijt* ŭwer herten, de goedtheyt ŭwer saken, en*de* de beloften godts, daer aen doet ghij soe Christenen betaemt, t'is ons lyeff geweest te hooren, wij ver*m*anen, bidden, en smeecken v, blyeft op dien padt, ver*g*elt geen qŭaedt met qŭaedt, lastert noch iniŭrieert niet weder, maer hoŭdt v inde voetpaden Christi, en*de* volcht het lydtsaem exempel der heyligen, en*de* laet ŭwe vrindelyckheyt, gedŭlt, en*de* lydtsaenheijt [*sic*] eenen yderen kenlyck worden, acht het geringe met Paŭlo van eenen menschelycken dage geoor-deelt te wesen 1. cor: 4. hebt medelijde*n* met sŭlcker lieden on*v*er*s*tant, en*de* draecht v in sŭlcke zee-stormen nade woorden Paŭli .1. cor: 6. als Dienaers godts met

grote verdŭldicheyt, met drŭck, met noodt, met anxt. etc. ende laet ŭwe gebeden voor de gene, die v leedt doen, tot godt opclimmen, nae d'exempel Christi, gedenckt dat ghij mede onverstandich geweest zijt, ende mogelyck ymandt te ontydt veroordelt hebt, dit doende sŭldij v bewijsen Christi bryeff te syn, met den vinger des leŭendigen Godts, inde tafelen ŭwes [? ŭwer] herten geschreŭen, ende ŭwe wysheyt, lydtsaemheyt, ende verdŭldicheyt sal den onverstandigen tot een licht, en beter gesicht dienen.

Dat ghy lieden veel middelen gebrŭijckt hebt om inde eenicheyt met de gene, die v lieden wtgeworpen hebben, te blyŭen, verblydt ons; want t'is Christelyck nae vrede ende eenicheijt te staen, oft te iagen. De heylige geest vermaent daer toe, wij beclagen dat ghij in desen te vergeeffs gearbeijt hebt, ende dat ghij nŭ hopeloos zyt in sŭlcke lofflycke saecke yet vrŭchtbaers wt te rechten, hebt geen beroŭv van allen ŭwen arbeyt in deser saken; want t'sal in v t'aller tijt veroorsaken een goede conscientie, die boŭen alle schatten gaet; maer inde gene, die v verdruckt en versmaedt hebben, droeffheijt en roŭwe, wanneer sy tot beter kennisse sŭllen gecomen syn, t'welck wy wenschen dat haest geschiede, eer den dach bij haer ondergae.

Ghy lieden wildet geerne v saken ten gerechte stellen voor de Dŭijtsche ende engelsche Gemeente alhier, onpartijdich wilden wy oock geerne v saken verhoren, ende affhandelen, op dat de geschillen nedergeleijt [?], ende vrede mocht gevonden werden. Maer hoe sal dat connen geschieden also lange als v partijen haer daertoe niet verstaen en willen? t'moet [?] godt opgedragen, en den tijt beŭolen sijn.

Soe Ian Morton, oft ijmant vanden synen hyer tot ons oŭercomt met vreedtlijeŭender herten, ende geseggelycken gemoede, t'sal ons lijeff syn, ende oft godt gaŭe dat sy by ons op soc een wyse verschenen, soe mocht wat goedts door haer comste veroorsaeckt worden: Soo het oock op een ander wijse geschiede, soe en hebt geen gedachten dat sy lieden hier in onse gemeenten eenige beroerte sŭllen aenrechten. onse broederschap is door ervarentheijt, ende het aenmercken vande menigerleije twisten, die de

twistige volcken ronts om ons gehadt hebben, en*de* noch dagelycx hebben, door het derŭen van dese vreed-voedende leere der ver*drachsaemheijt*, geleert geworden, hoe lyefflyck, costelyck, en goedt het is, dat broeders eendrachtich t'samen woonen, psalm 133. also dat wij door yemants comste geen ver*storinge* onder den onsen en bevresen.

Oft wel de sendtbrijeff, die wij ŭwe boden medegaŭen, en v lieden, gelyck ghij claecht, onthoŭden wort, maer van twee onser leeraren, namentlyck van Hans de ries en Reynier Wybrantse*n* onderteeckent is, soe affirmeren wij by desen dat den inhoŭde is het gemeen ver*stant*, en*de* die leere onder alle onse gemeenten, insonderh*eijt* t'stŭck vande ver*draechsaemheijt*, en*de* wort by ons allen gehoŭden als eenen sodanige*n* artickel, die wij met vreŭchden omhelsen, also de selŭe is een vande bysonderste oorsaken vande vrede en*de* eenicheyt, oft t'samen-hoŭdinge onser gemeenten. Soe Ian Morton, ofte ymant vanden synen anders seijt, dat moeten wij lyden, en*de* Christelyck ver*dragen*. Maer tot ons comende salt inde ondersoeckinge, gelyck als wij geschreŭen hebben, en*de* hijer in noch schrijŭen, beŭonden worden, en*de* niet anders. daerom en hebben wij geen vreese voor syne, ofte eens anders comste, als oft wij soŭden sorgen, dat ymant onder onse gemeenschap, door sŭlcke*n* middel, soŭde vande vreedtlijeŭentheijt affgeleijt worden

Nochtans en sal v l, niet ver*staen* dat wij de ver*draechsaemheijt* onbepaelt drijŭen, als oft wij alle onverstanden hoe groot, oft hoedanich die wese*n* mochten, onder ons plaetse soŭden gŭnnen, ô neen. Maer wij bepalen die met de heylige schriftŭre, en proeŭense met alle wijsheijt.

Wij ver*staen* dat v. l. een genoegen hebt aen de oorsaken by ons gesteet, waerom wij aen onse Magistraten naer v. l. begeren niet gesŭppliceert en hebben, dat laten wij ons welgevallen.

Gelyck ons dan mede behaecht t'gene v l vande eerste scheŭringe hebt geschreŭen, te weten, dat ghij siet dat de affgescheŭrde schŭlt hebben, om dat sy haer aen een waere Gemeente niet gegeŭen en hebben, maer onordentlyck

een van selŭen opgerecht, en secten gemaeckt, oock dat sy de censŭre Christi misbrŭijckt hebben. etc. Also v. l. door godts genade soe veele *ver*licht syt, dat ghij de gemelde gebreecken siet en kent soe bidden ende *ver*manen wy v, dat ghij neerstich toesiet, v kennisse wysselyck beleeft, ende sulcker lieden onwyse drijŭinge tot geener tyt niet gelyck en wort. Wy hebben haer lieden int begin der scheŭringe genoechsaem gewaerschoŭt, en*de* sulcke ongeordineertheijt affgeraden, en*de* tot lydtsaemheyt *ende* ver-draechsaemheyt *ver*maent, maer onse redenen en waren by haer niet ontfanghbaer, tot onse*n* leedtwesen.

Geerne hebben wij in v schrijŭen gelesen, dat ghij niet en syt van dat gevoelen als noodtwendich achtende alle eerste dach inde weecke broodt te breecken, maer laten sŭlcx in der gemeenten vrijheijt, alst gelegen zij, gelyck ghij lieden oock selŭe oeffent.

Wt de woorden, gelyck ghij oock selue oeffent, *ver*staen wij dat ghij affgesonderde het broot des heeren onder malcanderen breeckt, ofte het Sacrament des .h. aŭontmaels met den anderen hoŭdt. Soe wij dit recht *ver*staen, soe connen wij niet saen oft ghij doet soe doende t'selŭe dat ghij in andere berispt, te weten, dat ghij lieden, eer ghij v aen een waere gemeente hebt gegeŭen, en*de* door de selue in Christlycke ordeninge gestelt syt, een nieŭwe gemeente oprecht, en valt also int oordeel ŭwer partijen. Ende oft wij v. l niet te gebieden en hebben, soe *ver*manen en raden wij v allen, in sŭlcke kercklycke saken stil te hoŭden, tot breeder onderhandelinge, op dat alles onder v lieden ordentlyck geschiede, en*de* een schriftŭerlyck aensien hebbe.

Voor den aenvangk ŭwer scheŭringe was v lieder gevoelen dat een particŭlier broeder, sonder der gemeenten beroepinge, mocht de Sacramente*n* wtdeijlen, als mede dat het niet geoorloft was, in tyde der *ver*volginge in een ander landt te vlŭchten, en*de* aldaer te wonen, wij soŭden geerne *ver*staen, oft hijer in bij v lieden *ver*anderinge is, oft dat ghij noch staet inde selŭe meyninge.

Doen ŭwe boden hier waren, en*de* wy mondtlyck met haer spraken, *ver*claerden wij haer dat den strijdt artickel vande

hercomst des vleeschs Christi by ons gehoŭden werde verdragelyck inden genen, die Christi menscheijt niet en versaekten, maer hem beleden warachtich mensche te wesen; maer soe ymant dat soe verre wilde trecken, als oft wij oock verdragelyck hielden Christi godtheijt te versaken, oft te lochenen dat Christŭs waere godt zij, die soŭde ons niet wel, maer qŭalijcken verstaen hebben. Daerom sal v. l. belieŭen ons te ontdecken, hoe wij de woorden in v schrijŭen verstaen sŭllen, te weten, dese: wij en binden niemant te verstaen ofte vatten van Christo, als wy van hem verstaen als sommige oft andere doen, maer verdragen malcanderen etc. geerne wilden wy weeten oft dit alleen geseijt sy vande hercomst des vleeschs Christi, oft dat daer onder oock begrepen wort d'artickel vander godtheyt Christi. ende dat ghij lieden oock verdragelyck hoŭdt, en onder v verdraecht, de gene de godtheijt Christi versaecken, oft Christŭm niet en bekennen warachtich godt te syn inden vader, en met den vader, ende den .h. geest. v. l. sal belieŭen hier van ons toe te schrijŭen ŭwe rechte meyninge ende insien.

Int stŭck vanden eedt, ende het ampt der oŭerheijt schrijeff v. l. dat sommige met ons syn, ende andere niet. v. l. sal ons belieŭen te berechten, oft de gene, die met ons in beijde artickelen niet en stemmen, wt lyeffden tot der gemeenten vrede ende stichtinge, haer wel wilden onthoŭden om haer gevoelen te beleŭen, oft dat wanneer sy gevordert werden, insonderheyt tot het gebrŭijck der wapenen, haer verstant soŭden beleŭen willen. wy achtent noodtwendich hier van te hebben waere wetenschap en kennisse.

Dat de andere artickelen in onse confessie gemelt, by v allen voor Christelyck worden gehoŭden, ende daer door bekent ontfangen te hebben veel geestlycke verlichtinge, daer oŭer dancken wij den lieŭen godt, die den oorspronck ende aenvanger is alles goedes, ende van wijen alle goede, volmaeckte gaŭen affvloijen. wij bidden hem dat hij, tot syner eeren ende ŭwer aller heijl, v wil genade cracht, en gaŭen geŭen tot volcomen toeneminge, ende opwassinge

inde aengevangen kennisse der waerheijt, hoŭdt oock gelyckmoedich aen in een heijlich leŭen, met smeecken en bidden tot den alderhoochsten, gedenckt dat hij getroŭv is, die syn beloften in v vervŭllen, iae ende amen maken sal.

Met vreŭchden en blydtschappen hebben wij verstaen ŭwer aller heijlich voornemen om in onse broederschap aengenomen te worden, ende sichtelyck te vereenigen met onse gemeenten. wij syn daertoe oock wilvaerdich, ende des voornemens om t'selŭe met godes hŭlpe in goeder ordeninge te volstrecken, nae dat wij ŭwe antwoorde op desen sŭllen ontfangen, ende verstaen hebben dat wij sodanige gelyckheijt hebben inde kennisse der waerheijt, daer wt wij vertroŭwen mogen vreedtsaem, als Christenen toecomt, met malcanderen te mogen leŭen.

Van vwe opponenten en hebben wij geen schrijŭen noch clachten, tot v lieder nadeel ontfangen. Soo ons nae desen yet behandicht wort, soe sŭllen wij ons, als onpartydige toecomt, daer in hoŭden en vinden laten.

Wij verstaen dat de gelden, die wij ŭwe boden behandicht hebben, wel syn bestelt, gelyck wij ŭwe boden sonder eenich achterdencken toebetroŭt hebben.

Aldŭs geantwoort hebbende op v. l. aengenaem schrijŭen slŭijten wij desen, en sŭllen ŭwe bescheijden weder antwoorde met verlangen verwachten. de genade onses heeren Iesŭ Christi zy oŭer v allen, Amen.

In Amstelredam desen [blank space] May Anno 1624. onderteeckent met consent ende welgevallen der leraren ende Dienaren der dŭijtscher ende engelscher Gemeenten Iesŭ Christi aldaer, by ons

[A Letter from Elias Tookey and his Congregation at London to the Dutch and English united (Waterland) Church at Amsterdam, dated June 3, 1624, in answer to the preceding communication, and expressing the hope that they may be received into the membership of that Church, etc.][1]

[1] MS. B. 1368 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 21–4.

Seer diere vrienden tot ons, weetet, dat wy ontvangen hebben vwe graue ende gratieus antwoord: het welke onsen alder sielen groote vreuchde veroorsaect, want ghy hebt onser herten bequaemlich toe ghesproken daerin: hat [het] selue dat Godt doet, deur het licht des leuens Christu*m* nae den gheest ende op het ontvancke van vwen brief (daer wesende een trouwe bode ghereet) wy versamelde terstont beyde te lesen ende ouerleggen wat besceyt [?] aen v. l. te seynden: deur wiens snelle afsceydt, wy sijn veroorsaect gheworden alle vwen wijse schriften ouer te scricken: maer het gheen alleen, het welke v. l. van onse begeert, dat wy onsen ghevoelen daer van scrijuen soude.

1. Eerstelich wy mercken, dat ghy ons acht ghefaljeert te hebben, int brecking des broodts ofte het ontvancke des nacht-maels onder malcanderen sedert onsen w$^{t}$werpinghe: etc ~ tot den welke, wy antwoorden, nae dien dat daer gheen waere voorgaende ghemeenten waren, by wien wy ons by ghevoeght mochte hebben onder een volle order te comen wy hebben dus ghesinte gheweest, dat in sulke saecken, een gheemeente mochte die Sacramenten ghebruicken: maer wy willen noch onthouden (ghelijck ghy ons radet) tot dat wy hooren van v wederom: hopende die scrifte*n* beter gheopent te hebben tot ons by v. l. in desen stucke

2. Wy staen noc ghesint, dat een particuliere broeder mocht die Sacramenten bedienen wanneer die ghemeente hem daer toe roept, al is hy niet int officie van den pastoorscap: met desen proviso dat die ghemeente gheen officiers en hebt, maer heeft sy, dan houden wy dat een particuliere broeder gheensins doen macht: maer in desen wy sullen willich weesen te leeren / waerin wy faljeeren.

3. Wy houden het niet ongheorloft, int tydt der vervolginge te vluchten in een ander landt daer te woonen, ende sommighe onder ons hebben noyet so ghehouden.

4. Wy verstaen dat die heylige ende vreedsame leeringe der verdraeginge niet misbruickt en wort, hoe well sommige die

still sijn, in die ghemeente blijuen: die als noch niet well en weeten, wat van Christi godheyt te begrijpen: so sy [?] salichheyt alleen deur hem houden, ende in het gheen, waer toe sy ghecomen sijn, oprecht blijuen: deur welke vruchten der oprechticheyt wy verstaen, dat Christi Godheyt, hem selue in haer toont: welke ons versekert, dat sy Gods eygene sijn, hoe well sy als noch in het vernunft ende cerebro [?], dien verholentheyt of mysterie niet becoomen connen: maer ist dat eenighe die gheemeen verstant des ghemeents herein [*sic*] opponeren, ofte in eenighe andere stucken daer een onrustich eende domineerende gheest, wy houden dat sodanige niet te verdragen worden: maer om haerder onrusticheyt, ende om dat sy soecken [?] ouer anderen te hersscen, vermijdt hooren te weesen.

Veerder [?] wy laeten v. l. weeten, dat daer gheen onder ons sijn die den Godheyt Christi versaken: maer daer sijn 2 of 3 onder ons die in haer seluen een weynech anders van ghevoelen, als wy int generael doen, nochtans all comt op een in het leste: als wy het verstaen. die generael vatten, dat sijn Godheyt bestaet in den oneyndelich klont alias massa ofte onbegrijpelich substantie der goddelich natuer alleen: die andere vatten, het gheen te wesen all dat w$^{t}$vluyt natuerlich (als die licht van den Sonne) w$^{t}$ dien oneyndelich substantie, ende dat desen w$^{t}$-vloet bestaet in veel particulieren: als een lichaem bestaet in veele lyden: euen so is Christus 1 Cor: 12. 12 ver. ende het is goddeliche cracht, wijsheyt, ghenade, gherechticheyt etc ~ wien God w$^{t}$ghesonden heeft beyde die wereld te maken: ende den mensch ghevallen sijnde te versoenen: dese int corte is het gescill in het vernunft [?], aengaende die Godheyt Christi: ende sullen wy malkanderen ordeelen om desen ghevoeltingen: het sy veer maer in dien wy eenige sien van onser ghemeente Christu*m* te cruiscigen of crucificeren, ofte die goddelich natuer waer van sy deelaehtich sijn, deur die bedroch der sonden: om desen oordeelen wy, om dat wy sakerlich weten dat die woort Gods sulken alrede gheordeelt heeft. in dese oock wy sijn ghewillich te hooren met alder snellheyt, wat God v. l. hierin kundich [?] ghemacht heeft: ende laeten het tot vwen discrete consideratie.

5. Een eedt, wort ons niet dickwills voorghestelt, ende sommige wy mogen weygeren, sonder veel scult ofte scaede: nochtans het weygeringe van sommige eedt in onsen land, willen brengen beyde scult ende scade: als of wy weigeren soude den eedt der trouwheyt aen onsen koninc: wy souden gheheeten wesen verraders, ende wilde sy het w$^{t}$terste extremiteyt ghebruicken: sy mochten tegen ons procederen als tegen verraders: waer deur wy vallen int' pericell haerder wett: ende oock die heylige waerheyt, welke wy belyden, soude wesen door boose mensken quaed gheacht, ende wy ghehouden als commerlich ofte onrustich persoonen in een stadt, om niet te doen, het gheen, dat wy versekert sijn, dat wy doen mogen sonder sonde in sodanich eenen saecke a[l ?]s dese is: wy begeeren van v. l. te weeten welke v. l. ordeelt het slimste te wesen: te weten desen eedt te nemen ofte te weigeren: oock ofte het so vallen soude, doet sommige deur nood-dranck soude ghebracht werden te nemen, ofte het door vreede verdragen mochte werden: wederom in onse landt soude wy desen eedt weigeren, wy konde niet vrye borgers ghemackt worden binnen onse steden, noch op eenige tydt comen w$^{t}$ onsen landt, het sy om traffique te doen om den cost te crijgen, of te vlieden van vervolginge om der conscientie wille: nochtans willen wy myden desen ende alle andere so veel onsen vermogen aengaet, nu, ende euwelich

6. Aengaende magistratie, ende waepenen of crijch-handell, wy willen in gheender manier aenveerden ofte ondernemen: sommige van conscientie, ende die reste om der vreede wille euwelich.

Aldus hebben wy int corde gheantwoort tot vwen begeerten, niet hebbende tydt te scrijuen yet breeder op desen tydt, ende ofte wy hadde, nochtans konde wy v. l. niet vorderen: want wy hopen dat ghy zijt in, ofte nae by den vullheyt der vreuchte [?], ofte stant der volkomentheyt, in dien manier, dat wy sien ende gheloouen: maer als noch veer te corte zijn: maer wy willen niet ophouden te bidden, dat die gheen die desen werke begont [?] heeft het sy in v. l. ofte in ons mochte het volbrengen tot den dach Iesu [?] Christi toe in onse beyde wy alle groeten v hertelich in den Heere: genade sy met allen Amen.

Desgelijcks wy bidden v. l. in dien ghy ons in v. l. ghemeenscap ontvangen kont laet het v belieuen; te scrijuen sommighe woorden aen Ian [Iohn] Morton ende sijnen vrienden, streckende to[e ?] vreede ende order: het sal oock vervordert worden so veel ons vermocht: ende sommighe die met hem houden, sijn well ghereet & will-veerdich om sulken vreede, als den stucke der verdraegsaemheyt ender order te omhelsen. Daer sijn twee (die aen sijnen kant waren) ghevallen op personael successie van den tydt der Apostelen: ende wilden gheerne weeten, ofte eenighe die nu staen waere gheconstitueerde ghemeenten konnen seggen, dat sy haeren afcomste hadde, van hand tot hand, van den tydt der Apostelen af. ende ist saeck, dat dese niet gheprobeert can werden: dan woude sy gheerne hooren van den opstandinghe of oprijsinghe der alder oudtste dat nu sy: ende op watt manier: ende of v. l. die gheene zijt: ofte van hun. sy sijn goede volke, ende begeeren God te behagen, ende te leuen in een waere order: daerom, laet hat [het] v belieuen, te doen wat v. l. kont om haer te vreede te stellen.

Iunij 3. 1624. van London.

V. l. vrienden alleen, in, ende om die heylige waerheyt, ende hemelsche Leeuen:
Elias Tookey ende die andere.

[A Letter, dated Nov. 12, 1626, from the Five Early English Anabaptist Congregations at London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton, to Hans de Ries, Reinier Wybrantsz., and their Congregations in Holland, expressing the wish that they might be united with them in one religious communion.][1]

Dilectis nostris amicis Hans de Reys et Reynero wybransono atq*ue* ecclesijs ex quibus sunt, simul ac cu*m* om*ni*bus alijs Ministris et ecclesijs in eadem via cu*m* illis ambulantibus remanentibus in Hollandia, atq*ue* illis partibus: Ecclesiæ Iesu Christi, quæ in Anglia sunt, habitantes Londini, Lincolniæ, Sarum, Couentriæ, ac Tyuertoniæ,

[1] MS. B. 1372 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 26–30.

mittunt salutem ex córde optantes cunctas vobis multiplicari gratias a deo patre per Dominum Iesum Christum

Dilecti Amici, post salutationes ex corde optantes vestram assiduam prosperitatem ac salutem, eò quod Dominum Iesum Christum ac illius benedictam veritatem diligitis; cuius gratia, nos omnes eundem dominum Iesum, ac veritatem eius vobiscum diligentes, decet, omnibus modis conari vnanimes [*sic*] esse, cum omnibus quibuscunque, et in vna cumunione ac societate secum ambulare. ideo persuasi sumus nos in hoc deo gratos fore, nempe in tam bono laudabilique opere, vnde bonum domini populo redundet ad adiuvandum ac stabiliendum eos in veritate: porro cum antehac plurimùm vobiscum vnionem pacemque peractam fore a nobis et cupiuimus et quæsiuimus, quorum primi ac præcipui viri nunc mortui sunt ac cum domino requiescunt; nos igitur qui relinquimur, eodem desiderio affecti promovendi Dei gloriam, ac populi sui bonum, nunc denuo idem suscepimus [?], quamobrem hos duos nostros dilectos amicos ac fratres, homines a nobis approbatos ob illorum constantiam ac fidelitatem pro causa *christi* in patiendo constantèr, longam ac tediosam incarcerationem, ad vastationem et pene illorum ruinam qui vobis nostram mentem declarabunt, ad vos misimus: (si necesse sit) præter quod vobis in hoc scripto nostro patefecimus. /

Quod ad articulos vestræ fidei attinet, quos mundo excusos patefecistis [?], tanquam fidem vestrum omnium: (præcipue in fundamento) ante hac ad nos a vobis missos, nos sedulo legimus, et considerauimus [?], et cum alta et indissimulata laude Deo omnipotenti, sanctum nomen suum magnificamus eo quod differentiæ inter nos non sunt maiores: et quod principia Christi, tam purè a vobis agnoscuntur: attamen ad vos intellectum nostrum in quibusdam, in quibus aliquid invicem differre videamur, scripsimus: quibus tamen rectè intellectis vtrimque, nihil differre videatur. idcirco vos oramus, ad nos vestras mentes per hos legatos nostros conscriptas mittere, ac eatiam [?] hos nuncios nostros verbatim certiores reddere. /

1. De differentijs igitur nos dicimus tanquam vos scripsistis, vnum agnoscentem Christum Deum ac hominem in vna persona, secundum vestrum articulum octauum, quamvis ignoret an substantiam a Maria sumpserat, an non; et nec opponit nec contendit aduersus fidem aliorum, in re illa hunc recipi, manere ac tolerari posse in societate fidelium sine reiectione seu condemnatione

2. De iureiurando nos nullam videmus discrepantiam, cum informati sumus ac partim noscimus vos legitimum tenere, veretatem loqui coram Magistratu seu quocunque, et super iustam occasionem Dei reuerendum nomen ad testimonium sumere, verum esse; secundum scripturas has Ro: 1. 9. 2 Cor: 1. 2. 3. phill: 1. 8. et aliàs fas esse iurare non tenemus omnino secundum has scripturas, matt: 5. 34. Iam: 5. 12.

3: Oblata iusta occasione impedimenti, affirmamus cænam dominicam omitti posse donec tollantur impedimenta: aut aliter non audemus omittere quoque die sabbati quum convenimus ad præstandum cætera Dei publici Ministerij: cum exemplum [?] Ecclesiarum Dei habemus approbantium nos hac in re hocque tam pretiosam esse nostræ spiritualis consolationis, ac vnionis cum christo, et mutuò, et coniunctionis invic[e]m partem: quam vllam aliam Dei ministerij partem: aut aliter cum volumus, faciamus semel in .7. annis si velimus: et tunc cur non reliquæ partes publicæ religionis, quæ eiusmodi sunt cum hoc, tam diu etiam deferantur. /

4. Ministrationem sanctorum sacramentorum inseperatim cum ministerio verbi, coniunctam esse agnoscimus et cuique membro corporis adminiſtrare sacramenta non licere, hoc tamen affirmamus ministros esse, corporis qui non constituuntur per impositionem manuum in episcopatum, qui prædicent, convertant ac baptizent, et ædificent ecclesiam, atque cæteras publicas actiones consentiente ecclesia præstent absentibus episcopis: solum autem expedit cum ecclesia episcopos habet [?], et cum adfuerint, vt illi

ducerent omnes ecclesiæ publicas actiones, tanquam ecclesiæ publici ministri ac serui. /

finaliter, pro ipso magistratu, Inprimis concepimus vos non tantopere vestrum in hoc iudicium vrgere adeo, vt neminem contrariæ mentis admittatis, at quosdam qui vobiscum non consentiunt, recipitis hac in re velut ac nos vere instruimur, vosque quendam magistratum controuersias finientem, causas, litesque in posessionibus, ac alijs rebus mundanis approbare iudicare si non sanguinem, arma, bellaùe attigerit: adeo nostram, re vera differentiam non circa magistratum, sed circiter executionem ipsius officij versari. scilicet an magistratus sit iure ex ecclesia, vtens nulla parte suæ mundanæ authoritatis in Christi spirituali regno, vel ecclesia; sed hoc potius an in mundo illo gladio, quem Deus ei dabit [?] ad defendendum ius suorum subiectorum terrestrium, contra omnes invasiones, iniurias [?], ac eiusmodi malefactores puniat, qui occidunt, &c. vtatur; hoc concipimus esse differentiam. /

In hac re vobis ne displiceat, nos libere pati vobis nostras mentes significare, cum nosipsos volentes instrui profitemur, vel a vobis, ceu a quovis in quocunque [?], quod lucide nostris conscientijs apparebit per verbum veritatis. quod ad ipsum magistratum attinet, nos vobiscum agnoscimus secundum articulum. 37. Dominum Iesum *christ*um in suo regno spirituali, vel ecclesia novi testamenti ipsum magistratum nec aliquam potestatis suæ partem constituisse: nec executionem illius illic intrare: quia regnum, arma, ministri, et singula appertinentia eiusdem sunt spiritualia et in hoc tantam fiduciam habemus, vt vitas nostras in testimonium dare parati sumus [?]. atque etiam in hoc spirituali statu non respicere debemus personas, nec multos [?] esse magistros: at in mundanis rebus sancti debent respicere personas, vt cuncti inferiores, suos superiores, vt liberi parentes &c: et multi simus magistri immo omnes magistri in ecclesia, sint magistri in omnibus rebus mundanis, suis credentibus seruis: et sic magistratus regant [?] non in rebus ecclesiasticis, sed mundanis: namqu

est mundana ordinatio Dei ac bona; num potest aliquid boni esse impedimento homini, ne sit discipulus *christi.* vel christianus; an homines detineantur ab ecclesia, pro agendo seu exequendo quod bonum sit; nequaquam possit; nil nos impediat a deo nisi peccatum et malum idcirco si magistratus nos impediat ab christianitate, est malum ac peccatum: & tum debemus desiderare illius ruinam: et nec supplicare, nec deum laudare pro ipso, tanquam pro bona Dei ordinatione: at vero si nec peccatum, nec malum at supplicandum, et pro eo gratias dandum [*sic*] est, tanquam pro bona Dei ordinatione: velut ac est. tunc neminem impediat ne sit christianus nam hominem futurum christianum, aliquid relinquere docebimus; quin peccatum; Baptismus propter quem aduersus mundum contendimus, est baptismus resipiscentiæ, ob peccatorum remissionem, quem omnes qui suorum peccatorum pænitentiam agunt, ac euang[e]lij doctrinæ credunt, habeant: num, pænitentiam illius, quod bona Dei ordinatio sit, docebimus; absit; multum loqueremur, at cum vosipsi Authoritatem approbatis, de executione loquemur: in confesso est, ille qui instituit hanc bonam dei ordinationem, posuit in manu eiusdem gladium, vt vindex sit male agenti, ac remunerator bene agenti. igitur tolle gladium, et tollas authoritatem: nam quis sapiens cogitare possit cum magistratus decreuisset iustitiam, vt malefactores punirentur; quis illorum decreta æstimaret, si non illis esset potestas compellendi ad id quod rectum sit per gladium; nequaquam possit; exempli gratia, si magistratus secundum mandatum Dei potestatem non haberet sanguinem effundendi effundentis sanguinem humanum, quid ipse homicida curaret pro magistratu, seu quo pacto ab effundendo continuò sanguinem impediretur: et similliter pro armis, videmus saluatorem approbrantem [*sic*] illa in cœtu discipulorum, attamen illis non licere vti in defensione spiritualis regni nec ipsius tanquam regis eiusdem, cuius causa Iudæi quærebant illum occidere: adeo vt arma legitima sunt inter discipulos suos, veluti ac cetera mundana: at in regno suo non sunt vtenda [?] arma: cum arma militiæ sui

regni non sunt carnalia sed spiritualia, atque illius subditi, solum vnum regem habent, qui spiritualis est, idcircò non dominabuntur invicem tanquam principes gentium, eo quod regnum eius non est simile regis mundanis. /

Multa alia ad hoc regnum pertinere dicuntur, vt spiritualis thesaurus, ac sacculi, Lu: 12. 33. spiritualia ædificia, Ephe: 1. 20. spiritualis vestitus, 1 pet: 3. 3. spiritualis cibus Ioh: 6. 27. ro. 14. 17. eo quod hæc omnia ac alia multa dicuntur esse in regno *Domini* Christi, an non in mundo habeamus ideo, ac vtamur illis, vt mundanis rebus, thesauris sacculis, ædificijs, indumentis, ac cibis; speramus neminem hæc negaturum. /

Præterea qum [cum] vos vestra fruimini libertate, velut ac scribitis, tenendo non licere armis vti, hoc nobis mirum videtur: quoniam Magistratus qui testimonium habet subditorum fidelitatis, volentium suum regnum defendere, hac in re istorum pax maiori pretio habebitur, quam illorum, qui se suumque regnum perire, ac subditos obrui sinerent, potius quam illum contra homicidas, fures ac terræ suæ invasores defenderent: nos certi sumus sic foret nobiscum in natione nostra, vtcunque sit cum vestris magistratibus, et quod ad persecutionem tolerandam attinet, videmus pios magistratus sæpissime passos fuisse magnam persecutionem, a manibus inferiorum, ac superiorum Num: 14. 2. 10. & 16. 12. & 1 Sam: 18. 8. & Dan: 6. 1. & 3. 12. Ioh: 7. 50. hæ sunt quædam rationes nostræ inter multa, pro nostro iudicio, ac persuasione hac in re: atque hæ sunt omnes differentiæ nostræ, quas nos concipiamus: reliqua vestrorum articulorum, nos libere tam corde quam ore, agnoscimus atque vsque ad mortem Deo fauente agnoscemus. /

De quibus omnibus differentijs, nos precamur, vt vobis placeat serio ponderare ac considerare, ac consideratis nos certiores reddere, vtrum nos tolerare possitis, velut ac nos vos tolerare possumus hisce in rebus: vt sic simus membra simul vnius corporis cuius caput christus, atque ambulantes in vna commvnione ac societate, simus vnanimes [*sic*], cohabitantes in vnitate, ac veritate christi Iesu perinde ac fratres;

vt appareat cuius vere sumus discipuli, puta christi Iesu Domini nostri ac vnici saluatoris, cui sit gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.

Et sic Dilecti, ac plurimum respecti amici, nos vos (venia nostra sumpta) ex corde gratiæ domini nostri Iesu christi commendamus, quem vos ducere atque conducere in omnem veritatem, atque etiam nos, et sic in illa inculpatos seruare vsque ad apparitionem gloriæ suæ, nos iterum atque iterum rogamus: Amen:/

Verbatim stylo nouo. 12.° Nouembris. 1626. cum methodo facillima transtuli ex anglico in sermonem latinum./[1]

[A Letter of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo of Amsterdam to Hans de Ries announcing the arrival of the two representatives of the Five English Anabaptist Congregations, and dated November 13, 1626.][2]

Den [?]
Eersame discrete Hans
de Ries woonende op
de nieuwe sloot
Tot
Alckmaer[3]
port

In Amsterdam den 13 November 1626
Waerde en in godt beminde Vade[r ?] in Christo Hans de Ries sij vrede. Heden zyn bij ons geweest 2 Engelsche

[1] There is in the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam a Dutch copy of this letter. The original was in English. The Dutch copy concludes with the following words: "Aldŭs getranslateert in Dŭijts wtte latynse copije die wtte engels, daer in het origineel geschreŭen was, oŭergeset was. den 18. Nouember Anno 1626."

[2] MS. B. 1373 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This document like some others here published is wretchedly written and exceedingly difficult to decipher. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 24–5.

[3] This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

als gecommitteerde van 5 gemeenten in engelant met haar brengende seekeren brief aen v l, Reynier Wijbrants, en de andere dienaren onser gemeenten, de welcke door een onser engelsche broederen in latijn uit het engels is getranslatee[r]t, waeruit wij verstaan dat se onse confessien gelesen en met opmercken (soo sij schrijven) naegedacht hebbende wel zouden willen met ons vereenigen, also sij haar in alles daarmede vereenicht vinden uitgenomen in t' stick van eedt.

2. dat sij oock verstaan dat men het avontmaal alle sondagen behort [?] te celebreren ten sij dat het door rechtveerdich belet verhinde[r]t werde. 3. dat de broederen sonder oplegginge der handen of van den biscoppen daer toe bevesticht te zyn, vermogen en behooren in het afwesen der biscoppen te predikeⁿ en de sacramenten te bedienen. 4. het ampt der overicheyt verstaan sij dat van een christen mach bedient worden, doch niet als tot de kerke behoorende maar als een wereltlijck ampt: tot bewys van haare meninge brengen sij eenige redenen in, waar van de voornaamste is dat het ampt in hem selven goet is, en houden, dat het geene goet is den gebruicker des selfs niet kan hoŭden noch stellen buiten de gemeente, noch beletten dat hy geen christen sij.

dit is in t' corte haare intentie, verstant en orsaack van haare komste, versoeckende dat wij met dese hare 2 gecommitteerde zouden spreken, ende haar schriftelicke antwoort laten toekoomen. Wij hebben gesait dat wij vl advijs zouden versoecken alsoo de brief specialick aen vl hordt, over welcken versoecken wij vl advijs wat wij hier in doen zŭllen, of het vl gelegen is hier te koomen, dan of wij haar tot ŭwent zellen zenden. als mede of wij haar een schriftelijck antwoort op haren brief zŭllen mede geven dan of wij die haar zŭllen nae zenden, vl believe ons vl advijs met den aldereersten te laten weeten, wij hebben haar daar op uitgestelt, en ondertesschen onse engelschen belast dat sij haar onse laetste antwoort aen elias tokij zonden laaten leesen alsoo die van de sellifde materie handelt, t welck sij aengenomen hebben te doen, doch

deese hebben in t stick van den eedt en t ampt der overicheyt noch eenen anderen grondtslach als elias tokij ende de zijne.
dese zyn in engelant wel 150 persoonen starck sij zijn van elias tokij afgeschaiden, en zyn van Ian mortons ofte thomas elwijs volck, deese 2 die hier zijn schinen beqŭame mannen te zijn, en redelick treffelick in het habijt[1], hebben oock soo d'andere schrijven vele om den name christi geleden, en zyn langen tijt gevanckelick geweest.
Ick heb vl seker libel van de weeck gesonden hoope vl zŭlt het ontfangen hebben.

.....

vl Dienstwillige
Cornelis Claesz. Ansloo

Wij hebben aen den grave noch 100 gl. geordoneert te betaalen.

.....

[Questions asked by Hans de Ries, about November, 1626, of the two Representatives of the Five English Anabaptist Congregations, with their Answers.][2]

oft die 5 kercken die syn In haer schryft gedencken van haer comste tot ons kennisse & wetenschap ghehadt hebben
oft sy met eendracht van de selue geordent syn om tot ons te comen, oft sy den brieff geconcipiert hebben. waer by wy t zelue sullen weten also hy van haer niet onderteckent is [?]

[1] These words would seem to indicate that the early English Anabaptists wore a distinctive style of clothing as the Friends, or Quakers, did later.

[2] MS. B. 1374 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this document is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 30–32. The MS. is wretchedly written throughout and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty, as is the case with all the papers of Hans de Ries' that the present writer has seen. The letters are often slurred, and such letters have been printed in italics.

oft sy allen met malcanderen eendrachtich nae dinhout van haer schrift van een gevellen syn, In sonderheyt datter gheen onderschyt tusschen haer leeren & ons en is als In de stucken die sy In haer schrift gedencken
dewyl wy hier eenighe van haer nacie hebben die van den haren [?] gebannen syn waer voor sy nŭ de selue houden
oft sy de ghene die wt engelant hier weten commen woonen souden banwerdich houden ende die hier woonen [?] souden [?] houden [?] schuldich te wesen weder In engelant te comen
oft sy noch voor recht houden & dryuen & beleuen souden, dat elck broeder sonder ordentlycke beroepinge & belastinghe soude moghen de sacramenten bedienen & ock de vrouwen als er geen mannen waren [?]
oft geen ander forme van waardy In haer lant gebruyckt worde Int eetsweren als godt ende [?] syn getŭijgen
oft sy alle souden connen verdraghen dat eenighe ghementen In engelant synde maer somwyelen des Iaers het nachtmael hilden
oft eenich broeder In haer gemeenten wonende & het alle sondach brootbreken niet voor godts ghebodt hilde & derhaluen alle sondach met haer niet comŭnicerde [?] by haer soude mogen geleden worden
oft door de beloofte by getrouwicheyt den coninck ghedaen souden haer verplicht houden den coninck met wapenen voor te staen & haer seluen met wapenen totten bloede toe te beschermen
nu wat wet sy houden een christen ouerheyt ghehouden is de quade te straffen crych te vooren & met syn vyanden te handelen.
oft ock een christen Int twisten [?] synes coninex & tegenstaen synder vyanden [?] goederen [?] aentasten ontweldighen & nemen mach ock de ontweldichde goederen als vry eyghen goedt behouden en besitten mach

de 5 gemeenten hebben elck gheen leraer
en gheen leeraer hebben Wachten met den dienst tot datter een comt ergo ist niet nut [?] wendich [?] alle sondach broot te breken

sy laten niemant toe te leeren oft niet bequaem gekent sy [?] ma[ken ?] onderscheyt tussen een die leert & sacramenten bedient & een die Inden vollen dinst staet
2 [?] tweerley [?] gevoelen van buyten lant [?] te trecken oft sy de engelsche souden ontfangen is twyffelachtich [?] oft het nachtmael alle sondach te houden verwerpelyck by haer allen weten sy niet alle sondach broot te brecken hebben sy geen gebot noch wet maer [?] weten niet oft souden toelaten dat een [?] leeraer des sondags [?] soude mogen sulcx [?] navolgen [?]

[A Letter of the early English Anabaptist Congregation at Lincoln to the Congregation of Waterlanders at Amsterdam, dated Sept. 5, 1630.][1]

So ist Beminde ende lief-hebbende Vriendt dat Ick v.l. brief ontvanghen hebb (w^t^ handen van Ian Drew onsen beminde vriendt) ghesonden aen ons ende die reste van onse broederen hier in dese natie ende vindande daer in een ghetuighenisse van v.l. goede meyninghe neffens ons, in onse Christelicke stant: wy connen niet nae laten onse vriendelicke danckbaerheyt aen v te bewijsen voor deselue, wenschende dat ghy ende wy mochten comen tot den eenicheyt des heylighen gheest, ende tot dien bande des vredes welke sy in der waerheyt Amen.
Weetet nochtans goede vriendt dat die haestighe handelinghe die ghy ons op leyt, wy connen niet bekennen, noch die dinghen so gheringhe te wesen als ghy se schijnt te achten: als voor Math: 18 nae de welke ghy niet en wilde hebben dat wy elke ghescill des verstants ofte daedt soude straffen: wy weten ende het is openbaer dat in ijegelicke dinghe waer deur een broeder gherechtelich ghe-erghert wort, boete wort gheeyscht welke gheweygert zijnde, die onboetvaerdighe moet gheacht zijn als een heyden ende publicaen: nae welke onsen salich-maker leert Math: 5 een

[1] MS. B. 1376 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. Professor Dr Müller's translation of this letter is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 41–4.

yeder teghen wien een broeder yets heeft, met sijn broeder versoent te wesen, yer hy eenighe gaue (op den Outaer) offert voor den heere. ende op dat het niet te cleyn mach schijnen in v.l. ooghen, besiet die woorden onsen salichmakers omtrent het beginsell des 18 Capittells, daer hy seyt het ware beter dat eenen molen steen aen sijn hals ghehanghen worde, en in het diepste der Zee verdroncken, dan dat hy eenen van desen cleynen vererghert die in my ghelooven. etc.

Ende waer als ghy ons acht meer te wesen van den gheest der Iongeren Christi dan van den gheest onsen salichmakers, indien ghy meynt dat gheest, doe sy vier van den hemel wilde hebben om die samaritanen te verslinden etc. wy moghen well segghen dat ghy qualoch dunckt: want wy den en niet een ghedachte herberghen streckende tot lichamelichen verdruckinghe ofte leedwesen onses naesten, ofte enighe van weghen religie, ofte in saecken van conscientie, maer voor alle dinghen wy strijden met alle menschen daer teghen. noch en sijn wy (hopen wy) gheleyt met den gheest der ambitie ofte eergiericheyt te strijden wie soude het grootste sijn maer wy ontvanghen gheerne die menichderley leeringhe onses salichmakers in het teghen deel: indien ghy het appliceren wilt tot dat van onsen salichmakers dat die gheest is ghewillich ende die vleych swacke: wy moeten bekennen dat het also met ons gaet, nochtans derfen wy niet anders doen als hopen dat den heere sijn belofte sal volbrenghen int aennemen van onsen goede wille voor den daede, yae ende dat wy ghevonden sullen worden eenichsins den gheest Christi te hebben, anders behooren wy hem niet toe volgens dat gheschreven staet Rom: 8. 9. Maer ghy seght dat Christus droegh den ongheloof, (verachtinghe) ofte qualijcke nemen onwetentheyt, & blinde ijever sijnder Iongheren, alleen haer berispende etc. ende cont ghy ons rechvaerdelich straffen, dat wy volgens dien regell niet en wandelen handelen wy andersins dan straffe-wijse met die ghene die straffbaer of ergerlicke bevonden sijn, indien sy haer bekeeren, ofte meynt ghy dat christus sijnder [?] Iongheren

souden [*sic*] hebben wille [willen] dooghen [gedoogen] indien sy sijn straffe teghen ghestaen hadden ofte sijn onderwijsinghen ende vermaninghen gheweygerde, siet toe hoe ghy sodanighen eenen ghedachte toe laet, tis waer om yets dat wy lesen dat hy noyet handelde veerder met haer so is het mede waer dat sy altoos ghewillich waren te ontvanghen sijn berispinghen, ende van hem ghe=informeert ende ghereformeert te worden. maer voor obstinate ende ongheregelde persoonen die daer leest mach sien, dat hy overvloedich is int leeren hoe men met haer moet handelen. Waer als ghy procedeert te spreken van die abuisen ofte fauten in die ghemeente tot Corinthum ende die kerken ghebout deur den Apostellen (als of ghy niemant onboetvaerdich wilde hebben in desen dinghen w$^{t}$ghedaen ofte ghebant: wy bidden v in dese bedenckt so wy v hier in stemde toe, wat ellende ende confusie soude het wesen te dooghen die menschen te comen droncken, slaperich, ofte anders ongoddelich tot den tafell des heeren, te vallen in twisten, oneenicheden, te lochenen die verrijsenisse, te voeghen recht vaerdich=makinghe met het wett sonder Christo, ende so van ghenade te vallen etc. voor alle ofte eenighe waer van ghy seght dat men se behart te straffen, afraden, ende also dooghen ofte draghen. In dien men dese dinghen soude dooghen in plaets van eenen ghemeente der heylighen, die kerke soude groyen tot een ghesellschapp der boose ende godloose persoonen tis waer dat wy niet en lesen van eenighe persoon die w$^{t}$ den ghemeente van Corintho ghedaen was als den onkuische persoon: wy lesen oock niet dat eenighe een sonde waer van den ghemeente deur den Apostell was berispt dat het was yemant van den ghemeente so eighen, ofte particulier, dat also die gheheele ghemeente met hem handelen conde daer voor, want alle die reste waren so vermenght, ende so generalich besmett, dat sy mosten alle verbeteren ofte alle ghestraft worden deur den Apostell, ende daerom noemt hy sijn derde waerschouwinghe ofte vermaninghe sijn 3 ghetuighenen seggende indien hy wederom quam hy woude se niet sparen: het welke watt soude het anders

wesen als met haer voort te gaen tot den wᵗtersten straff nae die cracht die hen Heere hem ghegeuen hadde tot opbouwinghe ende niet tot verdervinghe: als ghy mach sien dat die ghemeente van Ephesus wort ghedreycht dat sy ontkerkt ofte haer Candelaer soude versett worden, om dat sy haer eersten hefde versaken hadde. maer te keeren tot die ghemeente van Corinthen [?] die Apostle [*sic*] seyt so yemant die hem een broeder laet noemen wort een oncuische, gierighe etc: met sodanighen eene niet te eeten, nu wy achten dat het hier ghemeynt wort van gheestelicke eeten, ende niet van ghemeenen eeten want dat soude te phariseesche wesen, so dat ghy sien meught dat daer andere sonden sijn behaluen oncuisheyt waer-om dat men wᵗghebant mach sijn. dat meer is alle sonden streckende tot lasteringhe, volgens den exempell der Apostelen handelende met Hymeneus ende Alexander behaluen den Apostell sijn begeerte dat sy afghesneden ware die haer quelde, te weten die ghemeente der
Gal: 5. 10, 12. Galateren, met valsche leeringhe, ende dat sy haer oordeel draghen soude wy sy waren, het welke wy hopen dat ghy het met ons besluyten will deur excommunicatie, ende niet lichamelicken doodte: wederom hoe souden die
Rom. 16. 17. ghene die daer twisten ende tweedrachten veroorsaeckte ghescouwt worden, als deur banninghe ofte Excommunicatie: ende hoe connen wy scheyden die ghene die daer leeren teghen die heylsame woorden onsen heere Iesu Christi, als deur excommunicatie: siet ghy oock niet dat die Heere dreight te vechten teghen die ghemeente Pergami met het swaert sijnder monde om dat sy doochde met haer die daer onderhielde die leeringhe Balaam, ende waer als ghy vermelt dat die heere gaf Iesabell eenen tijdt tot boete, wy hoopen dat ghy verstaet dat nae dat se ghebant sijn, ofte wᵗ die ghemeente ghedaen dat haer tijdt des boete niet gheheel afghesnijden wort: tis waer dat alle dinghen soude ghescieden in der liefde, ende [?] in der gheest der sachmoedicheyt, ende indien wy daerom connen rechvaerdelich ghestraft worden het sy veer dat wy dat niet en soude bekennen met beloften des verbeteringhe,

maer nochtans niet nae latende die onghemanierde te vermanen, want haer in haer onmanierlicheyt ofte misbruicken te dulden soude gheen helfde maer haet wesen levitici 19. & 17 verse [*sic*] noch en wort een Coninckrijck in hem selue ghedeylt, deur het straffen, castijdinghe ofte afsnijdinghe der quaed-doendere maer veel eerder die vrede ende ruste daer van behouden, tis waerachtich beminde [?] dat ghelijck als Christus ons vergaue so soude wy malcanderen, maer Christus vergaue niemant als die daer boete dede, ende tot hem keeren, ende daerom wat sijn wy dat wy meer doen soude: wy begeeren ongheveyns delich der allen versoeninghe, maer versoeninghe moet wesen op bekentenisse des schults met belofte des verbeteringhe, ende niet moetwillighe teghenstant ofte onboetvaerdicheyt in sonde, ende all hoe well dat wy als haestighe ende straffe menschen hebben ghehouden gheweest, nochtans dit weten wy voor seker dat als noch noyet yemant van ons w^t^ der ghemeente ghedaen, eenighe liefde tot God oft ijever tot religie bewijsde ten sy dat deur boetvaerdicheyt hy wederom met ons vrede maeckte. ende tot een besluit wy bekennen met v, dat het is een bedroefde dingh ende seer beclaegdelich te sien die gheestelicke steenen van des Heere bouwinghe, neder gheworpen ende verstroyt, maer heijlaes hoe sal men sulks connen helpen, niet deur haer in haerder boosheyt te dooghen, want dat soude wesen des Heeren huise tot eenen kuil der dieffen te maecken, ende grouwelich in sijnder ooghen te brenghen in sijn heylichdom sodanighe onbesnijden persoonen, ende gheen plaets ofte volk hem gheestelicken offenhanden aenghenaem deur Ies: Chr: op te offeren. ende dus met danckseggingh voor v. l. liefde biddende den Heere tot een vergeldinghe des selue v te bewaren ende vermeerderen in waere liefde ende ijever tot den heerlike Evangelie onses heeren ende salichmaker Ies*u* Chr*isti* dat ghy deur hem mach ghenieten die ouervloedighe gaven sijns h: gheest, tot vwer heylichmakinghe in dese leven, ende verheerlichinghe in het toecomende leven: die welke die geuer van alle goede gaven gheve

Act: 3. 19, 20.

v ende ons ende alle die den Heere Iesum liefhebben. Amen. ende dus met onse groetenisse saer vriendelich aen v ende alle liefhebbers der waerheyt, wie [wy] bevelen v des Heeren beschermínghe ende leydinghe wiens vrede segeninghen sy met v euwichlich: (bidden wy) Amen

Lincolne Septem: 5. 1630.

v ongheveynsde liefhebbers in die Heere, die broederen daer woonachtich.

w^t^ ghecopieert Maij 31, ende Iunij primo 1631.
deur v. l. Dienstwillighen broeder:

Swithune Gryndall.

[A Letter written by James Toppe and Israel, his wife, of the early English Anabaptist Congregation at Tiverton, to Hans de Ries in answer to a letter of his dated Sept. 13, 1630.][1]

V.l. vriendelick acceptatie mijns brief, ende sorghvuldicheyt om den selue te voldoen heef my op desen tijdt occasie ghegeuen tot v mijn danckbaerheyt te bewijsen, van weghen v.l. goede regarde neffens my ende alle anderen hier, hiefhebbers der waerheyt het welke is in Chr: Iesu onsen heere. dese daerom connen ghetuighen, dat Ick ontvanghen heb v.l. vriendelicke brief ghedateert Septem*ber* 13. 1630. waer in ghy begeert, als ghy seyt, met ongheveynsder herte, die ijever godes ende sijnder waerheyt, het welke wy desgelijx met ongheveynsder herten ernstelich begeeren ende om strijden: maer dit moeten wy weten dat onsen ijever moet wesen nae kennisse, ende aenghesteken met het vijer van hemel, ofte anders soude het worden dwaese ontsinnicheyt, meerder dan ijever: als wy meughen sien deur droevich exempell aen het Ioodtsche volk, die daer hadden volgens den ghetuighenisse des Apostells die ijever godes maer niet nae kennis, deur het welke sy waren so onwetentlich rasende dat sy die Messiah selue kruisde, die sy so lang ende

[1] MS. B. 1377 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam. This letter is undated but it was translated from English into Dutch on June 5, 1631. Professor Dr Müller's English translation of this Dutch copy is given in Dr B. Evans' "The Early English Baptists", Vol. II., pp. 44–51.

so seer waren verwachtende, ende hoopte dat hy Israel soude verlossen Luc: 24. 21. ende daerom wy vrijelich met v bekennen dat wy deur onwetentheyt dickwills meughen dolen jae doolen int volbrenghen van het ghene dat wy behoren te doen van weghen kennis, doende menich mael dinghen te haestelich ofte all te traeghelich het ghene dat wy anders hadden behooren te doen: nochtans die Heere in sijn woort ons klaerlich toont sijnder wille, wat wy behooren te doen ende oock mochte doen so die schult op ons selue niet en laghe: Niet te min hopen wy dat God ons ghenadich sal worden ende onsen swackheyt ende onvolcomentheyt, (noch het ghene dat wy des weghen misdoen), niet toe rekenen wille, wy dagelix strijdende sulks in ons selue te verbeteren, ende van perfectie tot perfectie te groeyen: maer indien wy onsen eighen willen soude soecken te doen, ende ons te vreden stellen met den ghemeene custuyme ende practijcke van anderen die wy beminnen etc. dan mochten wy niet verwachten eenighe meerder openbaringhe van Godes wille tot ons, noch eenighe ghenade van sijn handen. Nu tot v antwoort op mijnen brief, waer in ghy seyt, die oorsaeck waerom dat ghy lijdet ofte draeght een broeder nae vermaninghe, die daer hoorde een predicatie in England is dese (als ghy seght) om dat ghy niet en derft, sijn verstant wesende dat hy mocht hooren, ende deur het hooren ghesticht sijn van een anders ghesint, leueren sodanighen eenen ouer tot Satan: om dat den daet des hooren niet simpelich quaedt ofte vleeschelich sy, maer die leeringhe ofte p*er*soon welke ghy seght mach ghedisputable [*sic*] zijn (ofte twijfellachtich) etc. in welke woorden van vwen, daer sijn 2 redenen: die eerste is seght ghy dat sijn verstant was dat hy sulks doen mochte, ende sulks doende ghebouwt zijn van een teghen ghesinte p*er*soon: die tweede (seght ghy) om dat die bloote daet van hooren is niet simpelich quaedt ofte vleeschelich. Tot den eerste wy segghen, can die bloote verstant van een broeder jae al ware het van den alderheylichste heyliche die hier oyet leefde zijn een goede regell, voor sijn eighen ofte anderen directie in godes dienste, sonder eenighe verseekaringhe w$^{t}$ Godes woort, wy meynen vastelich, dat ghy also niet en houdet, want dat ware te maken een privaet verstant des sterffelicken mensche van ghelijcke waer-

die of valeur met den heilighe schrift, welke soude niet beter worden als lasteringhe ofte blasphemie: wat boosheyt is daer indien een mensch sijn privaet oordeel ware die regel, die men niet toe laten ende excuseren soude deur een schijnsell ofte andere van goedt, als die vwen te gaen hooren eenen valsche propheet (want so oordeelt ghy van haer ofte anders waerom noemt ghy se die teghenghesinte) om opghebouwt te worden. wy hebben sommighe hier die het gheoorloft houden te gaen hooren eenen valsche propheet, maer niet om eenighe loffe ofte eer tot God te brenghen, noch goedt tot die menschen, tis gheseyt dat sulks boosheyt ware te gaen om eenighe sodanighe eyndt: maer die vwen houden het gheoorloft te gaen hooren tot opbouwinghe: can een founteyne seyt S$^{t}$ Iacobus w$^{t}$werpen soete water ende bitter mede, niet meer (meughen wy vriemoedelich segghen [)] can een valsche propheet stichten ofte opbouwen Christi ghemeente ofte eenighe lidtmaet daer van. want als die waere propheten Christi, stichten ende opbouwen het ghemeente Christi, desgelijcks doen die valsche propheten het kerke Antichristi ofte sijn rijckdom stichten ofte opbouwen: sy connen niet te samen ghevoeght zijn in des Heeren werke tot opbouwinghe sijnder ghemeente niet meer jae veel min dan die heydenen Esra 4. conde ghevoeght worden met die Iooden int opbouwinghe van die materiael tempell, alleen Godes volk die Iooden mosten opbouwen dien materiael tempell doen, desghelijx nu, allen des Heeren propheten ofte volk die van hem ghesonden sijn hebbende haer beroepinghe van haer Meester Chr: Ies: bouwen op sijn gheestelicke tempell nu: simon Magus noch gheen ander valsche propheet wie hy sy, heeft eenighe deel ofte part in dese werke: wy sijn vermaent deur S$^{t}$ Iude ons op te bouwen in onse heylighe gheloove: maer indien wy by die teghen ghesinte soude gaen om opbouwinghe wy mochten draghen des Heeren straffe tot die Iooden, daer hy seyt dat sy versaken hadden den founteyn des levendich water ende haer putten ghemaeckt die gheen water conde houden, den gheheele loop der schrifte is teghen alle sodanighe Balaamitische trinckende: so die religie die ghy belijdet waerachtich sy, dan die religie die den teghen ghesinte belijdet moet immers valsche zijn dese reden will v leeren.

Nu tot den tweede, dat die daedt des hooren niet simpelich quaedt sy, ofte vleyschelich etc. wy segghen indien ghy meynt die actie van hooren een valsche propheet, ofte propheten predikende ofte biddende w$^{t}$ cracht van sijnder gheestelicke beroepinghe, (ghelijck het scijnt dat ghy doet) want anders wy achten dat ghy niet lochenen will, maer dat men sondighen mach int hooren, so well als int sien ofte spreken etc. dan segghen wy dat alle sodanighe hooren quaedt sy ende vleyschelich, niet wesende van het gheest Godes, noch bevestight deur sijn woort, alse dese plaetsen der schrifture proberen sullen: Ier: 23. 16. daer die Heere radet sijn volke segghende hoort niet die woorden der propheten die daer propheteren ende leeren v Idellheyt etc. ende Hos: 4: 15. comt niet tot Gilgal, noch [?] gaet niet tot Beth-haven: in den eene sijn sy verboden te hooren met den w$^{t}$wendighen oore, ende in den anderen niet so veel als te comen tot den plaets der valscher God-dienst om haer te hooren ofte besien: ende die stemme van hemel Math: 17. 5. seyt dese is mijn beminde in wien Ick een wellbehaghen heb, hoort hem: ende Ioh: 10 mijn scapen hooren mijn stemme, maer eenen vreemdelinch willen sy niet hooren: ende van die ghene die Chr: w$^{t}$stierde, hy seydt die v hoort, hoort my, maer van die teghenghesinte seyt hy nergens so: Daerom wy besluiten, indien Godes volke verboden wort te hooren die predicatien, ghebet ofte ghebieden der valsche propheten als dese schrifturen ende veele meer willen betuighen: dan segghen wy dat het int gheheel ongheoorloft sy die schapen Christi te hooren der vreemdelinghen stemme, vernamentlich tot die tijdt, plaets, ende vergaderinghe der ghenen die daer vergadert sijn in die name Christi: maer ghy seght dat hy het doet w$^{t}$ gheloove in hem selue, oh sluit v ooghen niet toe, wy bidden v, wat gheloove can hy hebben, wanneer dat gheen woordt des gheloofs sy daer voor in het gheheel boecke Godes te weten voor sodanighe een oeffeninghe: want die H. gheest seyt dat gheloove compt van hooren, & hooren van het woordt godes: nu hy heeft gheen woort Godes om dese sijn gheloof ende daerom heeft hy gheen gheloove daer in: ende het ghene dat niet van gheloove sy is sonde: ende dat niet alleen, of hy niet en blijfde in het oeffeninghe van desen quaedt, want so

ghy selue acht het, anders waerom afradet ghy hem van sulks, wilt ghy een broeder afraden om yet anders als sonde, het welke hooren eens ghedaen hebbende, het wort hem sonde, ghelijck als wy probeert hebben: ende indien hy gheen boete en doet, vermaent zijnde den 1/2, & 3 mael nae die ordentelich regell van onsen Meester Chr: Ies: die eenighe wett-gever sijnder ghemeente laet hem v wesen als een heyden etc. maer indien hy boete doet vergheeft hem, anders niet: dese is het wett Chr*isti* het welke wie niet gheoorsamen willen, sijn niet waerdich die name der Christenen, want niemant is een Christen als die sijnder wetten ende gheboden subject sy ende onderdanich. want als niemant can ghenoemt sijn des koninck ondersate, die sijn rechvaerdighe [*sic*] wetten niet ghehoorsamen will: so oock in Chr: gheestelicke coninckrijck daer sijn wetten ghanschelich gherechtich sijn, die welke wij [? hij] niet en ghehoorsamet can niet Christo toebehooren, ende so hy hem niet toe behoort, dan can hy het gheest Christi niet hebben, ende hebbende niet het gheest Chr: tis sonder questie dat hy ofte sy selue ende haer leeringhen syn quaed ende vleeschelich, beyde propheten ende volke wie sy sijn die andere ofte teghen ghesint sijn die waerachtich professie Christi: maer ghy acht het bequaem hem te draghen deur lang-moedicheyt etc. jae den Heere te bidden voor sijn verlichtinghe etc. als in v.l. duitsche broederen brief: wy stemmen dat toe met v.l. dat wy met sodanighen eene moeten handelen. als met eenen broeder, ende hem niet achten als een vyandt die gheheele tijdt dat hy onder vermaninghe sy, maer dit wilden wy van v.l. bidden in v.l. naeste schrijvens te toonen hoe lang men eenen broeder draghen sal in sijn sonde, het sy altoos ofte tot dat hy vriendelich vermaent heeft gheweest den 1, 2, & 3, mael, ofte tot wat respijt des tijdts. van weghen God ghevende die menschen tijdt tot boete als hy dede Iesabell: tis waer die Heere gheeft som wijlen die menschen eenen langhe tijdt des boets, sommighe 60 ofte 80 jaeren, jae den gheheele tijdt haerder leven: maer hy heeft sijn ghemeente ghepaelt met die 3 vermaninghe, ende so hy dan gheen boete en doet laet hem dy worden als een heyden etc. ende nochtans is hy deur dese niet berooft van alle middelen des boets, maer dese is het leste remedie die die kerk

ouer hem te ghebruicken heeft tot boetvaerdicheyt, als alle vermaninghen hem niet dienen will: do dat ghy sien meught dat Chr: sijn ghemeente eenen tijdt ghestelt heeft, welke die ghemeente niet verby can gaen: desghelijcks woude Ick v bidden te toonen waer die Apostelen ghedooghen hebben lang (als ghy seght) grooter sonden Ick can sulks niet ghedencken dat Ick het oyet ghelesen heb dat die Apostelen ofte eenighe van die eerste kerk ghedooghen hebben eenighe broeder bouen die ghesette tijdt van onsen salichmaker a[l]s te voren gheseyt is. Ende waer als ghy seyt in v.l. brief dat die schrifture die Ick allegeerde van die ghemeente tot Ephesus. Apoca: 2. 2. my niet en diende, Ick moet hersegghen dat het my dient, want hoe cont ghy het daer toe binden te weten van quaede leeraeren, wanneer die woorden sijn generael, ende dat ghy contse niet draghen die daer boose sijn, ende particulier ende hebtse ondersocht die daer segghen dat sy Apostelen sijn, ende en zijnse niet etc. welke leste woorden ghy neemt, ende beduitse te wesen die boose te vooren ghenoemt: hoe well dat sy te samen ghevoeght sijn met een woordt van byvoeghsell die haer te samen voeght: so dat alle quade worden ghemeynt int generael ende by name die ghene die daer seyden dat sy Apostelen waren, & waren niet. te volghen den regell van Godes woort, is die beste & behoudenste wech te wandelen tot reformatie beyde van minder ende meerder sonden, tot den welke, ist dat wy opsien, wy sullen sekerlich niet qualoch doen: hoe well in menschelich pollicie wy mochten nemen andere weghen, maer pollicie die daer menschelich sy moet gheen plaets hebben in Chr: kerke. so wy ghewillich sijn reformatie te soecken, dan moeten wy het doen nae sijnder woort, dan sullen wy seker gaen, in den reformatie des minder quaedts des meerder te voorcoomen: als mede den ghemeente Christi in der liefde te bouwen: ende hoe meughen wy onsen broeder meerder liefde toonen, als hem w$^{t}$ sijn sonde te plucken ofte trecken, ende vernamentlich door sodanighe middelen als Chr: selue voorghestelt heeft. so een vleeschelick vriendt soude int ghebreck leggen, so dat sommighe lidt most afghesnijden worden, ofte andersins het woude het gheheele lichaem bederven, soude men hem niet veel grooter liefde bewijsen, om het gheheelich aftesnijden,

dan deur teerheyt [teederheid] beteen te laten tot perijkell des gantsche lichaem etc. ende van sodanighe nature is die sonde so men het heen laet gaen, ende dat men het toelaet in die ghemeente, het will versueren den gheheele deegh treckende van boven die gramschapp Godes ouer den gheheel ghemeente, als ghy sien meught in die ghemeente tot Corinthum, om dat sy toelieten den onkuische persoon onder haer boven het gheene dat betaemde 1 Cor: 5. die so het schijnt, oeffende het selue leeringhe der draeghsaemheyt als ghy doet, ende waren daer ouer scherpelich van den Apostell berispt ofte beschuldicht.

Van weghen die vnie ofte eenicheyt (ghy seght) het faljeert aen onsen cant, om dat sommighe onder ons houden ende oeffenen het materiael sweert, het welke (ghy seght) noch Chr: noch sijnder Apostelen oijet oeffenende: het welke hoe ghy het versaken cont weten wy niet, nae-dien dat die schrifture bewijst dat effen onder die Iongheren Christi die hem altoos vergheselschapte, daer waren swaerden, als wanneer onsen salichmaker een weynich voor sijn lijdinghe ofte apprehensie in die tuine, doe hy sijn Iongheren onderwijsinghen ende directien gave wat sy doen soude nae sijn afscheyt: segghende doe Ick v w$^{t}$stierde sonder buydell sonder tessche ofte schoenen hebt ghy oock yet ghebreck gehadt etc. maer nu wie een buydell heeft etc. ende die niet en heeft die vercoope sijn rocke ende coope eenen sweert, ende sommighe onder haer seyden Heere siet hier sijn twee sweerden: ende Petrus had een sweert doe hy het misbruickende snijde af Malchus oore. tot dat hy het misbruickte, was hy noyet berispt om dat hy het hadt: ende sonder twijfell sommighe wettelich ghebruick had hy daer van te voren, ende dan oock, als mede nae-maels ofte anders waerom waren sy gheboden sweerdten te hebben, jae haer rocken te vercoopen, ende sweerdten te coopen, so dat in sommighe saeck ofte in eenighe dinghen sonder twijfell sy mochte se ghebruijcken. wederom doe die soldaten tot Ian quamen met het ander volke sy vraeghden hem wat sy doen soude hy seyde haer dat sy niemant gheweld soude doen etc; daer hy leerde [?] haer hoe dat sy haer draghen soude in haer plaets als christenen, ende nochtans behouden haer beroep als soldaten.

Indien ghy noch seggen soude dat noch Christus noch sijn Apostelen oyet ghebruickde die materiael sweert: dan bidden wy in v.l. naeste schrijvens te toonen nae v.l. verstant wat sy deden met haer sweerden te vooren vermelt, so sy se op gheenderley wijse ghebruicken mochte, dan bekennen wy met v.l. volgens die schriftuer plaetsen by v.l. ghe=allegeert met veel meer daer toe streckende in v.l. brief, die sulks bevestighen: dat die materiael sweert het gheestelicke rijckdom Christi niet toe-behoort: desghelijcks oock noch buidell noch tessche noch schoenen etc noch verscheyde [*sic*] andere dinghen van diergelijcken aert, nochtans mach men se als wy sijn vleesh ofte menschen van deser werelt wettelich ghebruicken tot maintenantie ofte onderhoudinghe van onsen natuerlich leven, welke wy ghehouden sijn te behouden ofte te beschermen, eve ofte effen als onse salichmaker doe hy w$^{t}$ dese werelt scheyden soude, nu seyt hy die daer een buydell heeft, laet hem het nemen etc onder het welke daer was een materiael sweert: nochtans sien wy dat sy het niet en mochte ghebruicken int beschermighe van haer christelicke professie of van haer Meester Christo: wanneer hy Petrum strafte, seggende steecht v sweert in sijn schee etc. noch en houden wy het wettelich te ghebruicken tot defensie van ons als wy sijn belijders des evangelie, voor het welke wy moeten, hebben, ende noch lijden vervolginghe: noch om te verwerven eenighe aerdsche croon, ofte wereltsche digniteyt die wy nae haecken: maer volgens onsen schuldighe plicht tot onsen Coninck & landschapp in alle civijle dinghen ende wettelich, ende als wy aerdsche onderdanen sijn van sijn aerdsche rijck tot defensie van sijn p*er*soon, digniteyt ende rijck wy ghebruicken die materiael sweert: op sodanighe wijse houden wy het gheoorloft te ghebruicken: nochtans segghen wy ende oordeelen dat indien wy noyet occasie sullen hebben te ghebruicken dat sulks beste ware: noch en oordeelen wy v.l. noch eenighe andere die sulks weygheren eenichsins te ghebruicken: maer wij sijn versekert (als wy meynen) so wy het in sommighe saken ghebruickte, dat wy niet sondighen soude. Maer ghy heden oordeelt ons gheheel onweerdich eenighe vnie ofte ghemeensaemheyt in Chr: kerke. van weghen dese onsen verstant ende ghebruick: hoe well dat

ghy lieden siet dat wy bevestiginghe hebben daer om w^t^ Godes woort: ende willen niet toe laten dat wy met v.l. ghemeenschapp soude hebben tot dat wy boete doen van weghen het ampt der ouerheyt, ende het ghebruicke des w^t^erlicken sweerts. het ampt der ouerheyt leert den heylighe gheest is die goede ordinantie Godes ende woude ghy hebben ons ofte eenighe die gheworden sullen een lidtmaet der ghemeente Christi, boete te doen van het ghene dat goedt sy, ofte hem anders niet toe te laten, het sy verre, niet maer sonde can yemant onbequaem maken een Christen te worden, van het welke hy moet boete doen, hoe cleyn het sy, want so het sonde sy so is het des wetts ouertredinghe, ende een yeder transgressie oft ouertredinghe daer van sal een rechtvaerdighe vergeldinghe des loons ontvanghen, te weten het toorne ende vloecke Godes, sonder boetvaerdicheyt. maer te gaen hooren een valsche propheet so het niet en worde der broederen erghenisse, ofte vervolginghe te mijden etc. welke niet te min is openbaerlich quaedt, als te voren ghetoont heeft gheweest: voor dese acht ghy hem niet weerdich in den ban te doen, hoe well hy gheen boete bewijst om dat hy sulks doet maer acht het leuen [?] bequaem, hem te draghen ofte haer (hoe well dat sy boose sijn) die daer boose zijn, om welker oorsaeck wy oordeelen dat die schult op v leyt, ende dat het aen v Cante mankeert ofte ghebreckt dat daer gheen eenicheyt en sy onder ofte tuschen ons: want hadden wy gheweten dat ghy lieden sondanighe verstant hadde ghehadt doe wy eenicheyt met v.l. sochte wy souden eerstelich v.l. reformatie, voor eenicheyt ghesocht hebben. daerom wy bidden v.l. van ghene dat hier gheschreven staet te considereren, als mede van het ghene dat onse vrienden ende beminde broederen van Lincolne gheschreuen hebben tot antwoort van v.l. brief tot haer ende so te stieren ons ouer v.l. verstant van weghen dese saecken dat so ghelijck als wy alle een dingh meynen ende om strijden te weten oprechticheyt in die professie des Evangeliums, wy mochten te samen alle eens ghesint worden, als die ghene die daer sijn van den huisghesin des gheloofs, ghegrondt ende ghebouwt op die fundament der Apostelen & propheten Chr: Iesus wesende die vernaemsten hoeck-staen: ende also in hem

opgroopen tot het euwighe leven. van weghen eenen Eedt het was (mijns heugens) tot dese ghebracht doe wy lesten met v waren, dat daer gheen onderscheyt was in onse houdinghe, alleen wy noemden dat eenen Eedt, ende ghy lieden niet: want ghy l. desgelijcks willen ghetuighen die waerheyt van een saeck voor den ouerricheyt nemende die Eer-waerdighe naem Godes tot ghetuighenisse, ende dese houden wy gheoorloft te doen wanneer wy daer toe gheroepen sullen worden & niet anders. Ende dus met ongheveynsde groetenisse aen v, ende v.l. huisvrouw ende die reste van onse beminde vrienden met v woonachtich by namen Alexander Hodgkin Ian Drew met haer wijven & die reste als ghenaemt, niet verghetende die 4 Oudtsten aen wien Ick bidd v maeckt kondich den inhoudt deser brief, als mede van dat ander gheschreuen van ons lieve vrienden te Lincolne. die Heere leyt v altoos in die waerheyt Amen.

Van Tyverton gheschreuen. v.l. lieve & ghetrouwe vrienden in die Heere altoos:

Ouerghesett w^t^ d'Engelsche spraeck Iunij 5. 1631. Iacobus Toppe: & Israel, sijn huisvrouw.

*per* v.l. D.[ienaer?] Broeder Swithune Gryndall.

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[A Letter from Leonard Busher to Abram Derikson, dated Delft, Dec. 8, 1642, giving certain facts concerning Busher's old Age.][1]

Den [?]
Eersamen vroomen
Abram Derikson in
de gecroonde Reed
tot
Amsterdam[2]
poort

In Delph de 8 december 1642.

[1] MS. B. 1378 in the Mennonite Archives, Amsterdam.
[2] This address is not a part of the text of the letter.

Ongunstige (Ik wou dat Ik (met waerheit) mogen seggen gunstige broeder in Christo, Abram Derikson, Salut: Ik heb diverse[1] brieven aen ul.[ieden]gesonden, maer geen Antwort becomen; Ik heb ooc van tho: Cŭyp niet gehoort, sedert September doe hy wt England quam: Sin heb ic hem een brief gesonden, de 18 November, maer geen Antwort; Ik begeere dat ul. hem dat seggen, om dat ic mogen weeten hoe het met hem is: Hem ul. sal believen my antwort te geven, op my brieven aen u & ul. confraters gesonden, Ik ben een oŭt swack man, diep in de 71 yaren, end liggen onder myn Pack ongeholpen, bedenct so het ubelieven, of hierin u & ul. Confraters, Gods geboden houden, die gebiet u nasten lief te hebben als u selven, end hem te helpen, so als onder sijn Pack, hy mogen niet bliven liggen: vl. kent my staet wel, beyde nade geloof & na de weerlt, nochtans in beyde, laet ul. my onder myn Pack liggen ongeholpen, overleg het wel, of God daerom niet vertoornt is? gylieden verstaen dat ic onder doolingen ook liggen, nochtans help u my niet wt, welc Godde meer mishaegt, om dat Ik dicwills aen ul. help versocht hebbe; haet my niet om dat ic ul. alle lief hebbe, end u niet flattere: gelijc de Schriftgeleerden & Phariseen christum & sijn discipulen gehaet hebben: ul. mogen vremt dincken, dat ic u alle broeders noemen, gy sijntet, of gy moet niet[2] gelooven dat Iesus de Messias is, na dien ul. sulx gelooven, & Ic geloovet ook, so moet wy broeders in christo sijn, of ul. moet bewysen, dat ic daerin ongeloovich ben, welc ul. niet doenlic is: dan na dien wy alle sulx gelooven, en dat de Apo: seyt, die sulx gelooven, is wt God gebooren, so hebben wy een Hemels vader, dan moet het noot sakelik volgen, dat alle syne soonen, broederen met malcander sijn, doch onse broeder christus de outste is, nŭ na dien dit waer is, so ic begeere dat ul. alle, my in beyde, liefde bewijsen; gelijc

1. Ioh. 5. 1. 2.

[1] Evidently an English word.

[2] My transcript reads "niet", but from the sense it is evident that it should either be omitted, or another "niet" inserted after "Iesus" and before "de Messias".

christus & syn Apostelen vermanen: hopende een troosteling Antwort cortelix te onfangen, Ic bevel ul. alle met my selven, de Salich genade des Heeren Iesu de[1] Messias, vl. d.w[?]: & desolate broeder in christo, Mark Leonard Busher..in de blaw Clawe tusken de Pieterstraet, end Browery van der de [?] verkerde weerlt.

[1] Surely the writer of such Dutch was not a Dutchman, as Dr Whitley has contended!

# XVII

## DOCUMENTS CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE EARLY BROWNIST (BARROWIST) AND INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS ON THE CONTINENT

[A Letter of "G(eorge) Abbot, Archbishop of) Can*terbury*", probably written to Sir William Boswell, and dated "From Croydon Sept: 4: 1622."][1]

My verie good Lord.....

You are therefore to knowe, that his ma*ies*tie beinge much troubled and greived at the hearte, to heare eu*er*ie daie of soe manie defecc*i*ons from our Religion, both to Poperie and Anabaptisme, or other points of Sep*ara*c*i*on, in some parts of this kingdome, and Consideringe w*i*th much Admirac*i*on, what might [be] the Cause thereof, especiallie in the Raigne of such a kinge, who doeth soe Constantlie professe him selfe an open adu*er*sarie to the superstition of the one and madnesse of the other, his princelie wisedome Could falle vpon noe one greater proba[bi]litie then the lightnesse affectednesse, and vnprofitablenesse of that kinde of preachinge, w*hi*ch hath beene of late yeeres two much taken vpp in Courte, vniu*er*sitie, Cittie, and Countrey: /

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[An interesting Letter written by John Cotton to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord keeper of the great Seale", dated "Boston [England]. Ian*uary* 31. 1624."][2]

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 29–30, in the British Museum.

[2] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 35–36.

My honourable & very good Lord,

As your Lordship hath dealt honourably, & Christianly with me: so might I iustly be esteemed impiously vngratefull, if I should deale otherwise, then ingenuously, & honestly with your Lordship. When my cause first came before your Lordship, your Lordship wisely and truely discerned, y^t^ my forbearaunce of y^e^ Ceremonyes was not from wilfull Refusall of Conformity, but from some doubt in my Iudgement (w^ch^ I confesse is very shallow) & from some scruple in Conscience, w^ch^ is indeede as weake. And therefore vpon mine humble, & instaunt Petition, your Lordship was pleased in much goodnesse, to graunt me time to consider further of these things for my better satisfaction. Your Lordships gentlenesse hath not since bred in me any obstinacy in mine owne Opinion: much lesse emboldened me to depart the further from y^e^ receyved Iudgement & practise of y^e^ Church in any point. The point of kneelinge in Receyvinge y^e^ holy Communion, was noe lesse doubtfull to me (if not more) in y^e^ dayes of your Lordships Prædecessour, then it is now. His Lordship knoweth, that in Westminster by his Commaundement, I propounded my doubts about it before himselfe, & the Reverend & learned Bishop of Sarisbury. y^t^ now is. Vnto whom I did so freely open my selfe, out of deepe desire to helpe my selfe by their deeper Iudgements, y^t^ my Lord discerninge my simplicity, became (as I conceyved it) y^e^ more favourable & willinge not onely to beare with me, but also to give some way to my Restitution, & in the windinge vp to leave me in such Estate, as your Lordship found me. I humbly beseech your Lordship thinke not I have so abused your Lordships Patience, as to harden my selfe by your Lordships Lenity. Noe, I assure your Lordship, out of an vnfeigned Desire, to improove your Lordships Gentlenesse to mine owne Peace, & the Churches satisfaction, I have thus farre gayned (what by Conference, what by study, what by seekinge vnto God) as of late to see the Weakenesse [?] of some of those groundes against Kneelinge, w^ch^ before seemed too stronge for me to dissolve. The Experience of y^e^ faylinge of my Iudgement in some of these thinges, maketh me the more to suspect it in other

Argum*en*ts & grounds of like nature. Besides I shall never forgett, what y*ou*r Lords*hi*p gravely & wisely once said vnto me, The Ceremonyes I doubted of, „were noe where expresly „forbidden in Scripture: the Argum*en*ts brought against y$^{m}$ „were but by Consequence deducted from Scripture: deduction „of Consequences was a worke of y$^{e}$ Iudgem*en*t: other mens „Iudgem*en*ts (so many, so learned, so godly) why should I not „conceyve, did as infallibly deduce iust Consequences, to allowe „these thinges, as mine owne, to doubt of y$^{m}$. Alas, alas, (my deere Lord) I see by often Experience, the shallownesse of mine owne Iudgem*en*t, especially in comparison of many Centuryes of Godly-Learned, who doubt not of the Lawfull liberty of these Ceremonyes, especially of this Gesture. Their Consent herein doth further strongly persuade me, to suspect the motions of mine owne minde, when I see my selfe in any thinge to dissent from y$^{e}$ receyved Iudgem*en*t of so many Reverend Fathers, & Brethren in y$^{e}$ Church, whom I doe not onely highly reverence, but admire. I see, it is com*m*only a Palsey-distemper in any member of y$^{e}$ Body, when it is carryed by a Motion different from y$^{e}$ rule of y$^{e}$ rest of y$^{e}$ members. And I iustly suspect y$^{t}$ Spirit, in my selfe, or in another, y$^{t}$ breatheth a motion different from y$^{e}$ rest of y$^{e}$ members of y$^{e}$ body of Christ, y$^{e}$ Church of God.

Thus may y*ou*r Lords*hi*p well perceyve, how little, y*ou*r Lord*shi*ps forbearaunce of me hath hitherto stiffened me in any private Conceyte. And though it hath bene suggested to y*ou*r Lords*hi*p (as I heare) y$^{t}$ it hath emboldened o*ur* Parish to Incomformity, & induced divers others to come from other Parishes, to Com*m*unicate with vs in y$^{e}$ like Liberty: Yet surely y*ou*r Lords*hi*p hath done honourably & Christianly, & well beseeminge the æquity of y*ou*r High & Honourable Co*ur*t [?], Not to give Credit to such a Suggestion, till y*ou*r Lords*hi*p hath Enquired, & heard o*ur* Answer. The trueth is, the Ceremonyes of y$^{e}$ Ringe in Marryage, & standinge at y$^{e}$ Creede, are vsually performed by my selfe: & all y$^{e}$ other Ceremonyes of Surplice, Crosse in Baptisme, Kneelinge at y$^{e}$ Com*m*union are frequently vsed by my fellow-Minister in o*ur* Church, & without disturbance of y$^{e}$ People. The People on

Sabbaths, & sundry other Festivall dayes, doe very diligently, & throug[h]ly frequent y^e^ Publique Prayers of y^e^ Church, appointed by Authority in y^e^ Booke of Com*m*on Prayer: neyther doe I thinke, y^t^ any of y^m^ ordinarily (vnlesse it be vpon iust occasion of other buisinesse) absenteth himselfe. It is true indeede, y^t^ in Receyvinge the Com*m*union, sundry of y^m^ doe not kneele: but (as I conceyve it, & as they Expresse themselves) It is not out of scruple of Conscience, but from y^e^ store & multitude of Com*m*unicants, w^ch^ often doe so thronge one another in this great Congregation, that they can hardly stand, (much lesse kneele) one by another. Such as doe forbeare kneelinge out of any doubt in Conscience, I know not, how very few, they be: I am sure, in comparison of y^e^ rest, they be nullius numeri. That divers others come from other Parishes for y^e^ Purpose, to Receyve w*i*thout Kneelinge, is vtterly vnknowen to me, & (I am persuaded) vtterly vntrue. All y^e^ neighbo*u*r Parishes, Ministers & People rounde about vs, are wholly Conformable. Once indeede (as I heard) one of y^e^ Inhabitants of o*u*r neighbo*u*r Parish, com*m*inge to visit his wife (who then nourced a Gentlemans child in o*u*r Towne) did here Com*m*unicate w*i*th vs. And whether for his not kneelinge, or for some further Cause, I know not, but (as I heard) y^e^ Co*u*rt beinge Informed of Him, did proceede severely against Him, But otherwise, the man (as I have since bene certefyed) hath alwayes vsed to receyve Kneelinge, both before, & since. Yet his Case beinge further bruited abroade, then well knowen, might easily breede such a Suspicion, & afterwards a Report, w^ch^ in time might come to yo*u*r Lords*hi*ps Eares, y^t^ divers did come from other Parishes to vs, for this purpose, To Receyve Incomformably. But yo*u*r Lords*hi*p is wise, easily discern*n*inge [?] betweene Report & Evidences.

Let me now therefore humbly intreate yo*u*r Lords*hi*p, in y^e^ bowells of Christ Iesus, since yo*u*r Lords*hi*ps Lenity hath hitherto neyther hardened me to any selfe-conceyted Obstinacy, nor wrought any Præiudice, eyther to yo*u*r Lords*hi*p, or to y^e^ Church of God: Yo*u*r Lords*hi*p will therefore be pleased To allowe me yet further time, for better Consideration of such doubts, as yet remayne behinde That if vpon further search,

I can finde them too weake to deteyne me, as I have done y^e^ former I may then satisfy *your* Lord*ship*s Desire, & Expectation: If Otherwise, yet I trust *your* Lord*ship* shall ever finde me (by y^e^ helpe of God) a peaceable, & (to my best endeavo*ur*, accordinge to my weake abilityes) a serviceable member of y^e^ Church of God. I dare not præsume, with more wordes to Presse *your* Lord*ship*, whom y^e^ store & weight of so many important Affayres, presse continually. The Lord of Heaven & Earth give me still to finde favo*ur* in your Lord*ship*s Eyes: And even He prosper *your* Lord*ship* with Longe life, & Happynesse, & Favo*ur* with God, & man. So humbly cravinge Pardon for my great boldnesse, I desire leave to rest

*Your* Lord*ship*s exceedingly much bounden Orato*ur* /

Boston. Ian*uary* 31. 1624. / Iohn Cotton. /

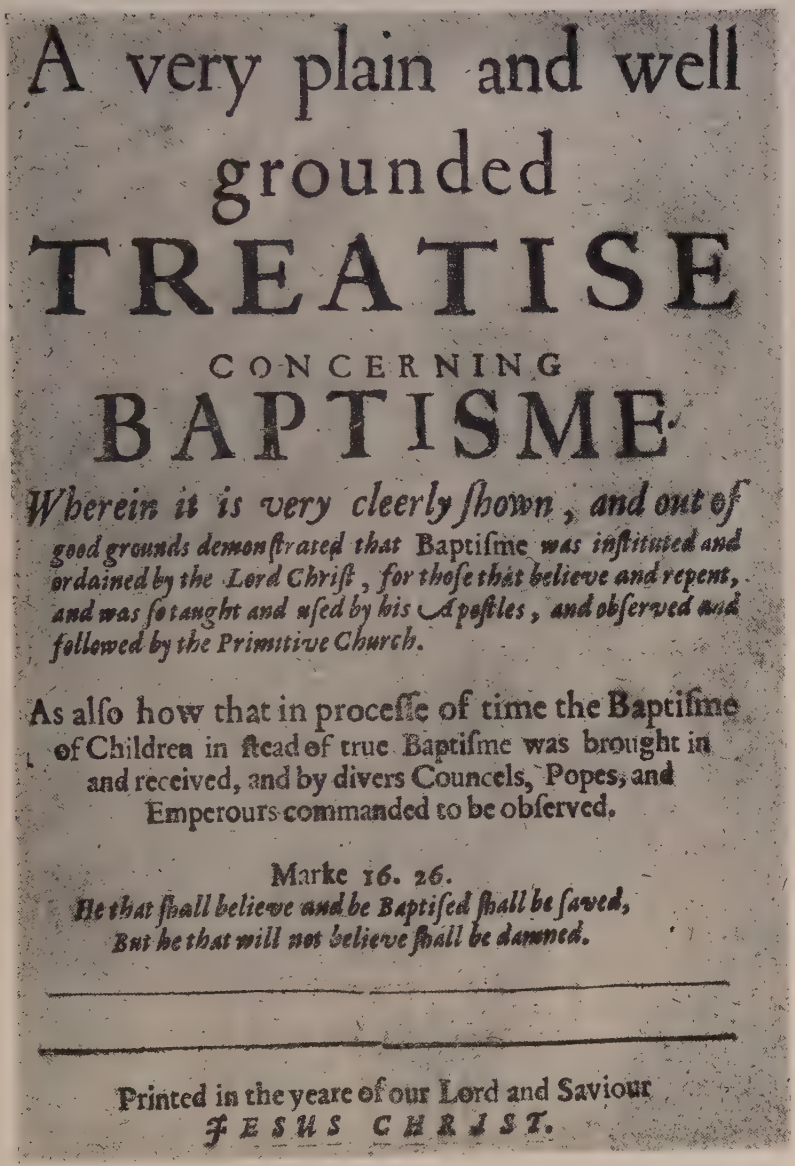
[A Petition of English and Scottish ministers in the Netherlands to King Charles I of England against six articles exhibited by Sir D.(udley) Carleton. Dated "Att Rotterdam the 4.^th^ of Iune 1628."][1]

Articles exhibited & delivered unto the Synod of the English & Scottish Ministers in the Netherlands, in the name of his Ma*jest*ie of Great Brittanie, by the right hono:^ble^ the L. Carleton Baron of Imbercourt, Amb*assadour* extraord:^ie^ to the States Gen*er*all of the united provinces, May 19. 1628. /

1 It is his Ma*jest*ies pleasure, that the said Ministers meddle not with the making or composing, much lesse y^e^ publishing of any new Liturgie or sett forme of prayer for their congregations.

2. That they by no meanes do exercise the power of Ordination, but that they leave both English & Scottish to receive holy orders only from their owne mother-Churches established in these two kingdomes: And that they accept of no other into any pastorall charge, but those only who have beene so ordained.

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 41–44.



A very plain and well grounded

# TREATISE

CONCERNING

# BAPTISME

*Wherein it is very cleerly ſhown, and out of good grounds demonſtrated that* Baptiſme *was inſtituted and ordained by the Lord Chriſt, for thoſe that believe and repent, and was ſo taught and uſed by his Apoſtles, and obſerved and followed by the Primitive Church.*

As alſo how that in proceſſe of time the Baptiſme of Children in ſtead of true Baptiſme was brought in and received, and by divers Councels, Popes, and Emperours commanded to be obſerved.

Marke 16. 26.

*He that ſhall believe and be Baptiſed ſhall be ſaved, But he that will not believe ſhall be damned.*

Printed in the yeare of our Lord and Saviour

*JESUS CHRIST.*

TITLE-PAGE OF THE SECOND IMPRESSION. (*Facsimile.*) Probable date 1648. See Vol. I., pp. 263–4 and Appendix B, p. 370.

3 That they bring in no novelties in any rites or Ceremonies which either concerne the actuall admission of Lawfull Ministers unto their pastorall charge, or which may be used in any other sacred act whatsoever.

4. That they assume no power to themselves to meddle with any point of doctrine: but that in doctrinall points they keepe themselves to what hath beene established by the English & Dutch Churches.

5. His Majestie is well content that they should still keepe that power, w^ch^ K. James his Royall Father intended to them; viz: To suppresse those who tooke vpon them the function of preachers, without lawfull vocation or admission to y^e^ Ministery. And 2.^ly^ to examine, restraine & punish the ill manners of such as give scandall by their vitious lives. And moreover, his Majestie doth recommend unto them, to make diligent inquisition after those who write books or pamphletts any way derogatory to y^e^ Church or state of England; & as much as in them lieth to suppresse them.

6. In case any doubt or difficulty arise concerning y^e^ true meaning or execution of these particulars; that they then repaire to his Majesties Ambassadour or Agent for y^e^ time being, who will ever have, or be able to procure such directions from his Majesty whereby so godly a worke, may be duely & rightly advanced.

Signed

D. Carleton.

May it please your Sacred Majestie graciously to receive & consider this humble declaration of us your Majesties most loyall & duetifull subjects (the English & Scotch Ministers) now living under the power of a forraine state, touching these articles exhibited unto us in your Majesties name, as your Royall pleasure, by the right honorable the Lord Carleton, Baron of Imber Court, your Majesties Ambassadour extraordinary to y^e^ States generall of y^e^ united provinces y^e^ 19^th^ of May 1628./

First in generall, we humbly beseech your Royall Majestie

to consider how unjustly, without any occasion by us ministred to these Churches of England & Scotland, a needles trouble hath beene raised unto us. First in the time of K. James of happy memory; & now againe in your Majesties time upon some sinister suggestions only, as though our proceedings in our Synodall assemblies should be derogatory to the Churches of the said kingdomes; whereas that solemne protestation made by us to the contrary att our first embracing & undertaking that authority given us by the most Illustrious Lords the States Generall by the procurement of his Majesties Ambassadour doth sufficiently cleare us of that imputation: the contents of w^ch^ protestation here following, we humbly present to your Majestie.

The said Ministers for the removing of all jealousy of innovation, separation, faction or schisme, did all jointly & severally protest, That as they did entertaine the liberty & benefitt of the said order & governement to be practised and administred only according to the French Churches, & as is contained in the grant from the most Illustrious Lords the States, without any purpose or intention to do any thing in any other forme to the least offense of the Churches in these provinces; or any way to impaire any particular lawfull priviledge w^ch^ hitherto hath beene enjoyed by any of the English Churches in these provinces, being in nature & quality neither offensive or contrary to the order of the Dutch or French Churches among whom they reside, nor any way repugnant to the power & grant aforesaid. So likewise did they protest their entertainement of the said forme & order to be (notwithstanding the bond of our uniforme obedience to the power & grant aforesaid during our abode in these parts) free in their soules & consciences from any disrespect, censure, prejudice, or condemnation of the Churches in his Majesties dominions; reserving unto them all due reverence as to the true Churches of Christ, equally precious in the sight of God (through

the same most precious faith) with our selves resolving still to hold communion with them, notwithstanding any difference of externall order; & evermore to pray for, & procure their happines & wellfare with our owne.

.....

And 1. concerning the making or publishing of any new Liturgie. We are sorry, that our best intentions are so misconstrued, it never havinge entred into our minds, to frame or publish any new Liturgie: or to oppose or condemne the Liturgies of any other Churches: but only to enlarge that allready extant (: [*sic*] w^ch^ by authority & command of the States we are enjoyned to observe:) by adding thereunto from other Liturgies; & among the rest from the Liturgie of England, so much as without offense or scandall in these Churches might be practised: w^ch^ foresaid Liturgie hath beene in continuall use in all Churches here, from the time of Q. Elizabeth of famous memory, whilst the Earle of Leicester did governe in these provinces; & agreed upon & practised in the Churches of the Brill & Vlissinghe, then absolutly depending upon y^e^ authority of the Kings of England, & maintained by them. Such was the care of your Majesties royall predecessors to have all things among their subjects here residing to be done in conformity to the Churches of these lands, thereby to prevent all offense, & to maintaine the peace & unitie of the Church: w^ch^ course we trust assuredly, your Majestie intends we should follow; not purposing we should putt in practise any Liturgy never as yett authorized in these parts; or that we should leave every man to his owne liberty to use what Liturgie he pleaseth; seing thereby as great, if not greater confusion & disorder should raigne amongst us after order established, as was before the erection of our Synode.

Touching the practise of Ordination forbidden us in the 2.^d^ Article: We humbly beseech your Majestie to weigh the nature of ordination, being an essentiall point of y^e^ function of our Ministery, for the well ordering y^e^ house

of God, over w^ch^ we are sett, as well as the preaching of the gospell & administrat*i*on of the Sacraments; so that w*i*th good conscience we cannot omitt it, nor leave it wholly to others without being guilty of neglect of the office laid upon us by Christ. And we are persuaded, that y*o*ur Ma*jesti*e considering this, will never prohibitt us the exercise of any thing, the power whereof is conferd upon us by him, there being (as we hope) no just cause in our persons or carriadge to y^e^ contrary.

2. Ordinat*i*on is of such a nature, that the exercise thereof being taken from us, the practise of all other points of Ecclesiasticall discipline over others of the Ministery are taken away with it; Seing none can displace that have no power to place; nor take away authority, where they cannot give it. The Ordainors may maintaine the ordained by them against all others; it being the order of all Churches, that Ministers in their Ministery be subject to their Ordainors. This point is also confirmed by the Popes owne law.....

3. If we should leave this practise wholly to these Churches, & thereby leave to them all the rest of the points of Ecclesiasticall governement we consequently give way to a forraine Ecclesiasticall power over y^e^ Churches within y^e^ dominions of this State; & so should not only prove ourselves most unthankfull persons, but also wrong the state, in transferring the liberty & power graunted us by them to strangers; so enthralling them to a forraine authority./

4. Y*o*ur Ma*jesti*e may consider what infamy & disgrace by this course shall be brought upon us y*o*ur Ma*jesti*es subjects, as the only men in these Churches, who are unworthy to enjoy the freedome, w^ch^ other strangers (& namely the French) do peaceably possesse. We beseech y*o*ur Ma*jesti*e graciously to respect the credit of your owne loyall subjects, that they be not herein made inferi*o*r in estimation to other strangers, & so exposed to the prophane derision & contempt of all men.

5. We beseech y*o*ur Ma*jesti*e to ponder what a dangerous

*pre*sident this were to have the practise of any affaires Ecclesiasticall to depend upon a forrain power, without the limits of the kingdome or state, where it is exercised. What confusion should fall amongst States & Princes, if once this practise should take place? For why may not a forrain civill power, order the affaires of another state, if a forraine Ecclesiasticall power shall once have place to order the Ecclesiasticall affaires of another State? Was not this a speciall reason w^ch^ moved *your* Ma*jesti*es Father of happy memory to take such paines in writing that famous Apologie pro juramento fidelitatis against such usurped power by the Pope? We beseech *your* Ma*jesti*e to consider, if any state under heaven, except papisticall, would willingly suffer such a practise, so dangerous, to creepe in, & take place in their dominions: considering, that even in this point of ordaining of Ministers, the Popes owne law doth not permitt a B*isho*p to ordaine any without the limits of his owne B*isho*prick, much lesse in a forrain state, as hereby doth manifestly appeare.....

6. We beseech *your* Ma*jesti*e to conceive, that if we should continue a Synodall body without practise of ordination; we should be such an Ecclesiasticall body, as is not to be found in any reformed Church in the world. And therefore we leave it unto *your* Ma*jesti*es wise judgement, if the leaving this practise wholly to the Churches of England and Scotland, should not worke in all abroad a greater distaste of the Churches of England & Scotland, & Episcopall governe*men*t in them (: if once it begin to extend its authority to forraine nations without the compasse of *your* Ma*jesti*es dominions:) for suppressing in their owne brethren abroad, the ordinary practise of all other reformed Churches? May not all Churches thinke; yea do they not allready conceive hereby that if they could, they would both condemne & overthrow all their governement? Whereas otherwise, they might have all other Churches to hold peace & communion with

them, if they should not incroach so strangely upon them, & their practise in our persons.

.....

[Information concerning the English Congregations in the Netherlands between 1621 and 1633.][1]

Concerning the Classis.

That in the yeare 1621. M^r^ forbes obtaining a Commission for the English Classis M^r^ Paget, & M^r^ Potts refused to be members of it: And being *pr*essed to come in they made their case knowne to the Amsterdam Dutch classis of w*hi*ch they were. & gave their reasons. w*hi*ch were so approved That the Classis made an Act, That they thought it best the English should have no classis, & that M^r^ Paget & M^r^ Potts should not be drawen from the Dutch classis they were in. This Act with the reason are [*sic*] vpon register. & recorded.

That M^r^ Paget &^c^ [?] being yet farth*er* *pr*essed by the Engl classis; The busines was *pr*esented to the North Holland synod: where the former Act of the Amsterdam classis was confirmed; this is likewise to be seene vpon record./

M^r^ Forbes notwithstanding this once with M^r^ Scott the Vtrecht minist*er*, & anoth*er* time with M^r^ Batchelour came to Amsterdam privately to the Burgomasters to desire them to constraine M^r^ Pagett & M^r^ Potts to be of their classis...

That the two maine reasons why the English Classis is condemned are these (as they may be seene vpon record) 1. Because the Ministers of England w*hi*ch come over hith*er* are of severall & inconsistent opinions differing fro*m* one anoth*er* & fro*m* all reformed churches. as ex*pr*essely that some are Brownists. some Brownistically affected in p*ar*ticular opinions. as .1. in allowing private men to p*r*each. 2. In denijng [?] formes of praier. 3 In admitting Brownists to their Congregations not

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 146, recto and verso.

renouncing their Brownisme. Some are Iacobites who require a New Covenant for members of a church to make before they can be Communicants, 2. Condemne the Decisive & Iudging power of all Classes & Synods; & that they have only a power of Counsailing & advising, because every *par*ticular Congregation is a church; and that a Compleat church, and that it is Immediately given vnto every congregation fro*m* Christ to be a single & vncompounded policy: (These are the very words of M^r^ Iacob, & Parker, & Baines,) And now the Dutch Classis & Synods conclude that such opinions as these do cleane overthrow the nature of their goverment; and y^t^ amongst such diversity of opinions no true Classis can be...

2. Because of the Complaint of the french & wallons in those countries..because they have a Classis graunted vnto them: It were bet*ter* (they say by experience) that they had no classis but were (as M^r^ Paget is) mixed into the Dutch Classes. for by reason of the distan[ce ?] of their dwelling they cannot have Monthly or quarterly Meetings, as Classes have, but only annuall as Synods: and that then there [?] is such trouble in their gathering toget*her* some dwelling in one province & some in anoth*er* at such great distance that they never all...& by reason of their few meetings the[re ?] grow vp many Enormities in *par*ticular congregations vnpunished:...

That now in this *pre*sent yeare 1633. M^r^ forbes & his Classists obtaining a new commissi[on] for their classis fro*m* the Councell of State, M^r^ Paget hath *pre*sented the busines againe to his Classis at Amsterdam the 4^th^ of Aprill: being the first Monday in the month. And they have promised their vttmost endeavour to hinder it...

.....

Concerning M^r^ Peters ordinac*i*on

1. There was a *New Covenant made* with [?] certaine *pre*cise & strict obligac*i*ons to w*hi*ch they should bind themselves. and he would be chosen by none but them

that would put there [?] hands to that paper. This saith Mr Paget was a kind of Excommunicacion to above two parts of the congregacion in former times. & hath caused the difficulty of adminis[t]ering the sacrament because he will give it to none but them whose names are at his New Covenant. Those New Covenanted must choose & Call him. so before these a sermon was made by Mr forbes.

2. There was χειροτονεια. first by all the men, but said Mr forbes, I see what the men do: but what do the weomen do. Therevpon they fell a χειροτονising too & Lift vp their Hands.

3. There was χειροθεσία. The Imposing of all the hands of the present Ministers except Mr Daye who was not desired (*Mr Grim of weasell was present* and confirmes all this) and Mr Forbes held them above halfe an hower laijng [laying] his burthen vpon him in these words & manner, as if he had never beene made minister. /

One Thomas Cranford: who doth vsually eate at Stephen ofwoods: is putting out the Bibles. they are printing in a house by the South Church. and one Stasmore a Brownist. who is discontented about the busines if it be well carried will easily tell all; & bring you to the place, Stephen ofwood is certainely the man which procures the printing of all the blew bookes...

[A Letter of Alexander Browne to Sir William Boswell, dated "Rotterdam the first of Nouember", 1633.][1]

Sence my laste beinge wth you I haue littell or noe newss to Informe you of only Mr Peter reported to sum of his peopell that he was to preach his farewell sermond at delft the last sunday: and to leaue it A dessolaite plaice wheer their [?] was wepinge Amongest his femall [female] saintes to heir of the sad stories he related vnto them heir at Rotterdam before he departed: for nowe insteed of preacheinge wee should haue A littell seruice..read with many other skandolous wordes he

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 153 recto.

eussed [used] vpon the Common prayer:...his prefaice to the fresh supplie is printed and I am promissed one of them but I shall noe sonner [sooner] receaue it but I will send it forwarde to your Honnor. I haue heir sent you M^r^ Peters Couenant w^ch^ [?] he maide and vnless wee will all subscribe to this his Couenant wee shall not be admitted to the lords Table neither ould members nor newe: so that it semes to me our Church formerly was noe Church: but what authoritie he haith to doe these thinges: I knowe not: for he him sellf saith the C[h]urch of Eingland doth Tije [*sic*] the Concienc of men to do this and that, and he for his parte in this his Couenant Tieth both Concienc: and purss...

[A Letter of Henry Elsynge's to Sir William Boswell, dated Amsterdam Iune the 6:^th^ 1633".][1]

There are very pretty differences now *in motion betweene the Brownists heere* [in Amsterdam], *they haue diuided their Brotherhoods, some goe along with Iohn D'ecluse, some with M^r^ Kan* [Canne], *the two heads of that diuided Bodye*, of which indeede there are none willing to bee feete, or any other enferior members, they would all bee heads: *Iohn D'ecluse has deliuered vp to Sathan M^r^ Kan, & his Sectaries, & M^r^ Kan will shortly bee ready, to doe him & his, the like courtesie. Stephen Offwod my Host was once one of the Brotherhood, but tis long since hee fell from it: but his wife & children continuing still among them, hee has written a booke which hee directs to them, in which hee layes the Brownists very open, & layes downe motiues & reasons to his wife & children, why they should forsake* (*as hee termes them*) *their abominac*[*i*]*ons:* but that hee maye shew himselfe *auerse to the Church of England & the discipline therein* setled & approued of, hee *has a Tract* wherein hee shewes that the *English of these Churches heere, had very good reason to leaue the Church of England, bringes in a short Narratiue of the Troubles of Franckfort, when the English first endeauored in the beginning of Queene Maryes tyme, to erect a Church there, & vpon that occasion, brings in likewise the...opinion of M^r^ Calvin,*

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 142.

*Bullinger & others of our Booke of Common Prayer:* but that I feare your occasions, would not dispence with soe vnworthy an Interruption, I had *sent you the Booke.* There is heere alsoe an English Bible now printed, according to the Exemplary of that Bible, which was printed in the Queenes tyme (Anno 1599[)], & (as they saye) *since by King Iames prohibited* to bee any more printed: & that it may passe the better in London & with the more *securitie, it beares the same date with the other, & is soe punctually the same with it, that it is I thinke impossible to distinguish them.....*

[Part of a letter probably written by Stephen Goffe, of the date 1633.][1]

.....

It is to be observed that of those Engl: Minister[s] [in the Netherlands] *which* vse not the English forme [of Liturgy] 1. Some vse the Dutch translated. as M^r^ Paine. but yet that mended much left out, and some things added, as may appeare by M^r^ Paines booke. /

2. Some vse none at all as M^r^ Forbes. but every time they administer the Sacraments a new. they [?] doe [?] not stand to one of their owne. /

3. Some vse anoth*er* English forme putt out at Midleborough. 1586. This M^r^ Goodyer saith he vseth at Leyden. and M^r^ Peters saied to me that was the forme he found in his consistory. But whether he vse it or no I cannot tell, I beleive he goes the Forbesian way.

4. Some vse *our* English forme in the sacraments but mangle them Leaving out and putting in whole sentences.....

M^r^ Pagetts 20 Proposic*i*ons to M^r^ [Thomas] Hooker with his answere thereto: ~ /[2]

Quest: 1 Whither it be lawfull for any to resort vnto the Publiq*ue* Meetings of the Brownists, and to Com-

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 168.

[2] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 67–72. Only a small portion of the contents of this document is here given.

municate with them in the WORD of GOD. // Negatur

Answ: To seperate from the faithfull Assemblies, and Churches in England, as noe Churches is an error in Iudgment, and sinne in practize, held and mayntained by the Brownists, & therefore to Comunicate with them, either in this their opinion or practize, is sinnefull & vtterly vnlawfull, but for a Christian both their opinion, & practize, to heare occasionally amongst them, & so to Comunicate with them in that part of Gods worde (*which* I conceaue to be the meaning of the first Quære) is not so farre, as I yet see simply vnlawfull, but may prove occasionally offensiue, if either by goeing, wee should encourage them to goe on, in their Course of seperation, or els by our vnwise expressions, might serue to weaken ours, to like of it our selves, and so to drawe them to a farther approbation of that way, then was before meet, wherevpon it followes, if wee giue these occasions of offence, wee sinne if wee do not abstaine [?], but if these occasions of offence may be remoued, by our Constant renouncing of their Course of the one side, and by our free and open profession of our intents, on the other side. That wee goe only to heare some sauorie point opened, and to benefitt by the guifts of some able Minister, that may come amongst them, if I say the giving of any Iust offence by these, or any other meanes, may be avoided, I conceive then it is not a sinne to heare them occasionally, and that some men may prevent such occasions, it is to mee, it is to me [*sic*] a very disputable question not hauing euer studied this point before. /

Quærs 2 Whether those Members of the Church [of England] *which* somtymes heare them, & stifly maintaine a Libertie therein are to be tollerated or rather censured. // censured

Respo: For the practise of members according to the former Caution & interpretation, being taken vp & mayntayned though stiffly, which Argumente, because it is but questionable and disputable before they be fully convicted of their sinne, they ought to be tollerated rather than censured: And this moderacion in things which are disputable, and not absolutely necessary to salvation.....

Qu: 3 Whether such of the Brownists as haue not renounced their Seperation from the Church of England, Nor yett allow Comunion with the Publique estate thereof may lawfully be receiued for members of our Church // Negatur.

Resp: The not renouncing seperacion from the faithfull assemblies in England and the not allowance of Comunion with the Publique state of the Church of England This meer opinion can in no wise make a man vnfitt to be receaved a member of this Congregation, vnlesse wee will say that such a man (being in his iudgment & life otherwise altogether vnblameable) in Judicious Charitie is not a visible Christian, which is a more ridged Censure then the wisest of the seperation would giue waie vnto, in a proportionable kinde, and I suppose a pious hart dare affirme,.....

English Preachers in the Netherlands [in 1633][1].

Of y^e^ Regiments.

e Lord Vere. M^r^ Goffe.
c [?] Gen: Morgan. M^r^ Batchelour.
e Col. Paginham. M^r^. Day.
e Col. Herbert. M^r^ Sclaer.

Of y^e^ Merchants.

c M^r^ Forbes. and his
c Assistant M^r^ Hooker.

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 175. In the original the list of names is given in three columns.

[Of y$^{e}$] Garrisons.

Vtrecht. M$^{r}$ Fortree.
Gorichom. M$^{r}$ Batchelour. idem.
Tergoo. M$^{r}$ Day. idem.
e Gittredenberge. M$^{r}$ Firsby.
Busch. M$^{r}$ Gribbins.
c Husden. M$^{r}$ Widdowes.
c Bergen. M$^{r}$ Paine.
Dort. a Dutchman *which* speakes English.
c Nimmegen M$^{r}$ Sibbald. Scotchm.
Wesell. a Dutchman *which* speakes English.
Tiel. M$^{r}$ Sclaer. idem.
Doesborough. M$^{r}$ Parsons.

[Of y$^{e}$] Towns.

Amsterdam. M$^{r}$ Iohn Pagett.
c Rotterdam. M$^{r}$ Peters.
Flushing. M$^{r}$ Roe.
Middleborough. M$^{r}$ Drake[1].
Leyden. M$^{r}$ Goodyer.
Hage. M$^{r}$ Balmeford.

The towne Ministers haue meanes allowed them by the States. of the Garrisons none haue any Meanes from the States but only Vtrecht. 500$^{g}$: per ann*um* and Bergen. 200$^{g}$: per an*num* the rest are payd by the Captaines, w*hich* is about 2. gulders a weeke, as long as they bee in the Garrisons, So that when they are in the field they haue nothing but only of those Companies w*hich* are left at home.

Of all those there belong to y$^{e}$ English Classis M$^{r}$ Forbes. M$^{r}$ Peters. M$^{r}$ Balmeford. M$^{r}$ Batchelour. M$^{r}$ Paine. M$^{r}$ Widdowes. M$^{r}$ Sibbald. this last came within this yeare (and though they haue had noe classicall meeting) yet must be named here because hee was placed by the authority of y$^{e}$ classis at Nimmegen, and doth reckon himselfe of that classis.

[1] Could this by any chance have been Thomas Drakes who has already been mentioned elsewhere?

Those y^t^ refuse to be of y^e^ English Classis, some are of the Dutch, and some are of none. M^r^ Pagett. M^r^ Fortree, M^r^ Gribbins are of y^e^ Dutch. (what M^r^ Roe and M^r^ Drake doe is not knowne, but they refuse to be of y^e^ English classis.) M^r^ Goodyer desired to bee of y^e^ Leyden classis, but they will not admitt him, And y^e^ reason giuen is because they doe obserue by a longe and sharpe controuersy *which* hath been betwixt him & his parishioners hee is of a rigid*er* Discipline, then y^e^ Dutch Discipline is.

M^r^ Gribbins was commended by y^e^ L*ord* Vere to y^e^ Busch, being a Palatinate man that wanted meanes, & hauing studied well in England, y^e^ officers report nothing but well of him. /

M^r^ Fortree was chosen by y^e^ officers, and is well approued of by them, for a quiet man.

M^r^ Paine was called from Schonehouen by y^e^ Englishe classis to Bergen op Zone. after y^t^ by their Authority, they had depriued one M^r^ Clarke the Scotch regiment Preacher to y^e^ Earle of Bucklough.

M^r^ Parsons is the regiment preacher to Coll: Belford, (it is likely hee is of noe Classis at all) M^r^ Sibbald: to Coll: Broge.

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[A letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Leyden. Feb. *28* stil. no." (1634/3 ?)][1]

Worthy Sir.

I hope you have receaved a le*ttr*e from Amst*er*dam on Sunday w^ch^ did acquaint you with the comming of m^r^ Damport [Davenport] vnto you, & the cause of it. And by this time m^r^ Damp*ort* appearing to you hath shewed the truth of it. Since that m^r^ Pagett hath given me another rela*cion* w^ch^ with his most humble service he desired me to make knowne vnto *your* selfe: vnto who*m* he desires to approve him selfe, and give account of his actions. Aft*er* that in many discourses with m^r^ Damport He had found his difference fro*m* him in the poynt of Baptisme, w^ch^ is not only a matt*er* of

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 192 recto and verso.

judgement but practice both ministers joyning in baptizing every child according to the Dutch custome ((1) one reading the forme, & explicacion of it. and the other sprinkling the water with those words In the name &c.) He told him that it was necessary for him to admitt all the infants w^ch^ were brought, as he & the Dutch alwaies vse to do, or els they could not be fitt colleges in that pastorall charge. Herevpon Damport & his frends made the first cry, complained to the Dutch ministers, obtained of two of them, to come vnto m^r^ Pagett, to reprehend him for his difficulty in admitting so reverend [?] a College &c. Those two (.. one Roulandus. & Goldorpius) comming to m^r^ Pagett & hearing [?] the case were presently made of his mind, & concluded that a more sollemne meeting should be had, & Damport perswaded to a better sense, or els no admission. Wherefore shortly after 5 of the Dutch ministers came vnto m^r^ Pagetts house, and there expected m^r^ Dampo*r*t who could not be brought to come vnto them, notwithstanding that they proceeded to their consultacion, wrought in Lattine the condicions they would require of Damport & Pagett, & subscribed them with their 5 names, These condicions were on Pagetts p*a*rt That if the Parent or frends of the infant did signifie vnto him before hand that they would have a child baptised, That then m^r^ Pagett should send them to Damport, to be examined, as he desired. On Damports p*a*rt That if the Parent or frends being desired to go to him should not go. or comming should be so ignorant as not to be able to give account of their faith, or if they should suddainely bring the child into the church without forewarning that he should not venture to refuse to baptize it. Damport having this pap*e*r of condicions brought to him gave such an answere, as m^r^ Pagett vnderstood he meant to rest satisfied in them. Wherevpon he preached before m^r^ Pagett & they were to proceed to his Calling. After sermon m^r^ Pagett desired him to speake plainely whether he would rest in those condicions, & resolve to p*e*rforme them. His answer was, That in the Consistory one of the Elders should expresse his mind; but m^r^ Pag*e*tt pressing him to expresse his owne mind him selfe, He seemed to take the Condicions vpon w^ch^ they in the Consistory concluded on him

for their pastor, made an Instrument of his Election, w[ch] yet m[r] Pagett would have to include in it The Condicions about baptisme. w[ch] was done. Now their worke was to obtaine the consent of the magistrates, & the Classis. The magistrates for a good while were hard to be entreated, alleadging his offending our king, his deserting of his former charge, His preaching since he came hither &c but at last were overcome by the importunity of the merchants that pressed for him. The Classis made no difficulty supposing the acceptance of those Condicions. So that now nothing was remaining but Damports receaving their call. w[ch] when He saw with the Condicions about baptisme mencioned in it, he desired to be excused, that he could not with a good conscience performe them. So all that busines was vndone againe. And thus it now stands. Since that his clients have beene very malicious against m[r] Pagett, most grievously reviling him, & exasperating both him & those frends w[ch] he hath against a 2[d] election w[ch] is thought willbe very hardly obtained, the Dutch ministers being offended at this precise Iesuitissme æquivocating him selfe in to their election. Yesterday was their Classis day, in w[ch] their purpose was (as m[r] Pagett told me) to speake of Damports dealing. And that He might avoyde the discoursing with them or any of them he would absent him selfe. either this is the cause of his jorney, or it is believed so, because yet no Dutch minister could come to speake with Damport since his comming though they have sought it many times, severally & alltogether, as when he was chosen the whole Classis desired his company to dinner, but non est inventus. nor ever since could be. wherin we are litle beholding to him, for they sticke not to say His Latine tong is the cause of it. /

.....

Leyden. Feb. *28* stil. no. [1634/3 ?]

Tewsday. morn. /

Your humblest Servant

Stephen Goffe. /

[A letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Leyden March .9" (1634/3 ?).][1]

Worthy Sir.

Since the receiving of yours–March–6. from Brill. for which I give you many thankes, M^r^ Paget hath sent his kinsman to me, to relate what was done in the Classis last weeke. The ordinary busines being dispatched in their mondayes meeting they resolved of purpose to come together the next day to heare m^r^ Damports [Davenports] matter. On one side m^r^ Paget declared that after the consent of the magistrates by order from the classis he with the Elders had offered m^r^ *Damport* his Call in writing. but that He refused it his conscience not suffering him to vndertake those condicions w^ch^ yet were thought necessary by 5 of themselves, and were in appearance accepted by him selfe. On the other side were two of the Elders of the Church deputed & instructed by m^r^ Damport; who indeed confessed the refusall, & the tendernes of his conscience, but in the name of the *most & cheifest* of the congregation desired the Classis that they might have him established amongst them, not Pastor but Assistant in preaching. alleadging the excellency of his guifts, & his *discreet & peaceable* carriage. / Vpon the notice of his refusall some of the Dutch ministers who (by the merchants m^r^ *Damports* frends) were brought to be sticklers for him professed themselves much wronged, that m^r^ *Damport* had putt them vpon the displeasure of the magistrates. for that the magistrates did alledge, as his deserting England, so his differing from the Belgicke constitutions w^ch^ they had answered vnto them, & warranted vpon their creditts that he would be a fitt and conformable man. But now in his plaine flying off, & that for such easy condicions, he did lay them open to shame to the magistrates, who were difficulte before, but now would be possessed; that many other differences were hidd in his brest besids those. / To that matter of being lecturer or assistant in preaching only, that was a

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 194 recto—195 recto. This letter I take to be dated according to New Style, as was often the case in the Netherlands at this period.

species of creatures w^ch^ was not in their church, besids that therein they should exceedingly wrong m^r^ Pag*et* whose age required a College in all the burthens of the church, w^ch^ were as many & more heavy in the businesses of the Consistory for government, and in administering the sacraments, then [?] in the pulpitt for preaching. And that vnlesse he were legittimate Pastor he could have no place in the consistory. &c. In fine There conclusion was that 3 Dutch ministers should be deputed to go vnto him in the name of the Classis to expresse the just cause they have to be offended at his refusall, they having through so many objections made his way for him. And to take his reasons why he will not accept of those condicions concerning baptisme. And that next classis those 3 must report w*hat* his reasons be that so they may sett a finall conclusion to this matter.....

Leyden. March .9./.[1634/3(?)]

Your most humble &
thankfull Servant

Stephen Goffe./

[A Letter of John Davenport's to "Sir William Boswell Knight", dated "Amsterda*m* March 18. 1634(/3?)".][1]

Honorable Sir,

When I first Came into these parts, my purpose was to stay he[re] but 3 or 4 moneths, and, that time being expired, to returne for England my nati[ue] Countrey, had not the sinister & slanderous informac*i*on, whereof I complained in [my?] last, exasperated the ArchB^p^. of Cant:[erbury] to reproachfull inuectiues, and bitter mena[ces?] against me in the High Com*m*ission, whereby my returne is made much more difficult, and hazardous then I could suspect. when, in that letter, I sayd, I am willing to excercise [*sic*] those gifts which God hath giuen me &c I vsed that expression not in affectation, but as fittest to represent my present state, and to intimate that I am not engaged by any relation of office for Continuance here. which, being added to what I then wrote, and the

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 196.

vnseasonablenes of two or three moneths (after my arriuall) for trauayle, and that I was but once at the Hague, in transitû, before the last time, when I trauayled thither purposely to present my selfe and seruice to your Ho:[nour], will make a full apollogy for my seeming neglect in that particular. The particulars, wherein I haue changed, are no other then the same, for which many worthy ministers, and lights eminent for godlines & learning haue suffered the loss of theyre ministry and liberty; some whereof are now in perfect peace, and rest, others are dispersed in seuerall countreyes, and some yet liue in England as priuate persons, who were and are loyall and faythfull subiects to theyre soueraigne, and haue witnessed against hæresyes, and schysme and against all sectaryes, as Familists, Anabaptists & Brownists, against all which I also witnes, in this place, wherevnto I had not come, if I could haue bene secure of a safe and quiett abode in my deare natiue country.

If that way of questioning should pass vpon all men, which your wisdom iudgeth meete in this case...I thinck, they that iudge me will be found, in some particulars, to haue spoken against the gouernm*ent* of England. All that I spake was concerning the gesture of sitting, vsed in this countrey, in receiuing the Sacrament of y$^{e}$ Lords Supper, which I approued, and præferred before Kneeling, grounding what I sayd vpon Luke 22. 27 to 31,...nor did I euer heare that any man tooke offence thereat, but this informer who was discontented the weeke before at a sermon wherein some Arminian errours were touched vpon by me, which quickened him to watch for some aduantage, wherevpon he might ground an accusation.

Whereas it pleased you to question vpon oath whether I haue not bene Cause, or Conscious of any English bookes, or treaties printed or published in these parts since my Coming ouer, or now in press, wherein the present orders and gouernm*ent* of Engl: in church affayres are traduced and vndermined? my answer (but without oath till I shall be lawfully called therevnto) is negatiue. D$^{r}$ Ames his last booke & intitled a fresh suit against Ceremonies is the onely booke, that I know of, which hath bene published since my coming into these parts,

that booke with y^e^ præface was printed before I came from England, yea before the authors death, who was buried before my arrivall here, nor haue I dispersed any of them in England, or in these countryes. my profession of to [*sic*] being still his Ma*ies*ties Loyall & faythfull subiect is in simplicity and trueth, neyther shall they disproue it, who traduce me, and if they proceed according to those beginnings, I shall be constrained to declare myne innocencie in an Apollogy printed to the vew [view] of the world, and therein to com*m*unicate the grounds, where-vpon my iudgm*en*t and practise was altered, and the reason of my departure thence hither; with such obseruations as I haue made in both places. But it is not my purpose so to doe, vnles the continuance of iniurious aspersions make it necessary, in which case the law of God and of nature bindeth men to such a Vindicac*i*on of theyre innocency as the Case requireth. oh that the good hand of God would bring it to pass that those vgly vizzards of disloyalty and schisme being pulled off, the persons that are besmeared and deformed with these obloquies might be represented to his Ma*ies*tie in theyre owne shape and colours, viz. in the tendernes of theyre conscience, in the peaceablenes of theyre disposition, & in the simplicity of theyre intentions for the good of church and Commonns. vnder his Royall Gouernm*en*t for the continuance of whole life [*sic*], and raigne in peace and prosperity I doe and shall (as I am bound) daily prostrate my selfe with my poore prayers before the throne of grace.....

[A Letter of Stephen Goffe's to Sir William Boswell concerning the difficulties between John Davenport and John Paget, of the year 1634/3.][1]

Sir:

The newes of Amst*erdam* that is the difference concerning Baptisme w^ch^ is betwixt m^r^ Pagett & m^r^ Damport & the difficultie of his proceeding there Stephen ofwood who hath beene with you hath bett*er* related than I can, that heard it only at large at Delph [?], whether m^r^ Damport him selfe was

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 179 recto.

comming to consult with m^r^ Forbs. The Crowne of Christian martyrdome [?] could not be found because m^r^ Voot [?] was not in towne. M^r^ Widdowes [?] was there newly returned from Leyden, where he desired me if I would do him no good to do him no harme, it seemes (not that he feares obstacles (as he saith) but for expedition) he hath some good book a printing w^ch^ I must inquire after. It is no vnvsuall thing to suspend men from the sacrament. for as I was served here so was one m^r^ Brooks a gentleman of very good worth & more than ordinary desert & goodnes putt by at Rotterdam. m^r^ Petters to avoyd the blame of it made great love vnto him, but so ordered it that his Elders refused him without alledging any reason at all that I can heare. This business is of that consequence that many honest gentlemen of my Lords company at Delph take it very ill. for that they went of purpose some of them—(one Captaine Robberts by name) to Rotterdam having not opportunity at Delph; to have receaved but hearing this of m^r^ Brooks desisted in their suite. & complaine of the difficulty of the way to Heaven here more then in England or the Gospell. I came so late home last weeke, that I have nothing to say from Leyden.....

Leyden $\frac{23}{13}$./[?][163$\frac{4}{5}$]

Your most humble thankfull

Servant

Stephen Goffe.

[A letter of Griffin Higgs' to Sir William Boswell, dated "April .9. S.[tilo] Vet. i634....at the Hage."][1]

.....M^r^. Damport [Davenport] is still a Non-Conformist to the Dutch Church as well, as to the English; in many points: [?] one is the not-baptizing of Infants, vnles he approve the [?] parents faith, and life: wherevpon the Dutch ministers have silenced him, and (without Conformitie to their orders before the first of may) they doe peremptorily reject him...it is manifest, that the Dutch ministers doe mislike our Non-Conformists, and would more Easilie entertaine Conformable men of Learning, and good life, and moderation. For they doe

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 200–1.

now professe at Amsterdam, that they will not continue the stipend to any English minister, who comes against the King of Englands pleasure.....

[A letter of John Paget's to Sir William Boswell, dated "Amsterdam, March 13 1636 Stilo nov."][1]

Honourable Sr,

According to your desire I have sent vnto you this book of the forme of of [*sic*] common prayers & administration of sacramentes printed at Midleburg this being the fourth edition. Some parts of it are translated out of the Dutch formulier; in some things it varies, Though I never accurately compared them together, yet I think vpon the view of some places, it had bene better if there had bene lesse variation. I can well misse it for twise so long a time as you mention; yet seing I have no more but this copy, neither know where they are to be got, I would willingly at your leasure receave it againe, when you have done with it. The God of heaven be with you & cover you with the shadow of his winges:.....

Amsterdam, March 13 1636 Stilo nov. Your Honours to be Commanded

Iohn Paget:

.....

A true Relation of the first Erection
of an English Church in Vtrecht,
with the proceedings synce./.[2]

Before the yeare i622 there was noe settled Congregation, but only Regiment Preachers whoe duringe the tyme that the soldiers were in Garrison preached vnto them, but they goeinge into the feild the English Cittizens and inhabitants were destitute of preachinge and other diuine administrations./. Vpon which occasion some of the most eminent of the Cittizens

[1] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 228 recto.

[2] Add. MS. 6394 (Boswell Papers, Vol. I.), fol. 270–75. This account appears to have been written about 1637 or a little later.

of the English nation, propounded among them, to erect a settled Congregation, because they were of a good number, which they could not doe without permission of the Lords the staites of the Province, and Magistraites of the Citty of Vtrecht, the Chiefe difficultie beinge then for to finde meanes for the maintenance of the Minister./.

Whervpon they made a Muster of the families, & inhabitants, and found them to be aboute i20 in number, whoe framed a petition, which they all signed with their owne hands, and sent one Ralph Wase, and Ephraim Buttler into the Haghe [Hague] vnto Sir Dudley Carelton [*sic*], then Lord Ambassadour of his Majestie of great Britaine, entreatinge his letters of recommendations [?] to the Lords to the staites of this Province that they would be pleased to grant them some Meanes for the Minister, and permitt them to erect a Congregation &c, which the said Lord Ambassador vpon their request did, which petition of the Cittizens, and Letter of the Lord Ambassador are yet to be seene in the staites Chamber dated 20th [?] Aprill 1622./.

The said Cittizens of the English Nation in Vtrecht petitioned the staites of the Province and Magistraites of the Citty of Vtrecht, for a grant of a Church to meet in, and for a stipend towards the Maintenance of their Minister./.

The states consented and allowed i50 gulders [?] yeerly towards the Preachers maintenance and the Citty allowed as much, and the Church of st[.] Katherine was designed them for their meetinge in, [?] common with the soldiers of the Brittish Nation which was done the 8th of May i622 as we finde it recorded by Mr Thomas Scott his owne hand, the first Minister of this settled Congregation:/.

The said Thomas Scott hath likewise recorded that then the Captaines ioyned with the Cittizens, and desirous to haue an English Preacher sent expresse messengers to mr Thomas Scott then Preacher of the English Garrison at Gorchum, to call him to this place, and they promised (to witt the Cittizens) to make a certaine stipend of 600 guldens by the yeare, and to allow him a house, And that besides he should haue the benefitt of the Garrison, wch was 2g by the short month of euery syngle Companie and rateably of the rest./.

The Consent of the states of this Province dated the 14 May, and of the Citty dated the 13th May 1622 is with a proviso, that they (to witt the Congregation) shall not goe to the callinge of a minister then with dew Correspondence, and xamination [?] of the Minister, & wch purpose they of the Citty gaue Commission vnto the Schepon [Schepen] Wttenwell [?], and vander Lynghen of the Citty Counsell.

The aforenamed mr Scott beinge called he was inducted by mr John Forbes Preacher to the Marchants adventurers at delft, whoe then preached, mr Barkeley preacher at Rotterdam, mr Andrew Hunter preacher to the Scottish Regiment and mr Gualter Whitestone preacher to the Regiment of Viscount Liste. /. Also their were present the Committyes of the States and Magistrates, besides diuers english Officers of the Garrison then at Vtrecht with all dew solemnitie on the 20th May 1622. /

The Cittizens of the English and Scottish Nation resident at Vtrecht made amongst them a muster of them that were able for to furnish the 300g, wch they had promised, to make the 600g, and euery one of the Contributors names, and their promised Contribution set downe in a list, and performed it accordingly as diuers of them that are yet aliue and then were Contributors can testifie. /.

This Contribution continued but one Yeare, and because there were many to whom this Contribution fell heauy the Congregation resolued againe to entreate the aforenamed Lord Embassador to writte in their behalfe for increase of meanes, wch he did accordingly and vsed divers reasons, that they were Cittizens, & ought not to be treated otherwise then the other Cittizens, and alsoe as the French Nation, and other more reasons, as by the said letter in the states Chamber of this Province is yet to be seene. /.

Hauinge obtained this letter, mr Thomas Scott writes with his owne hand in the records of the Church, that the 12th of June in place of change of Church officers the Elders were continued, because the Ministers stipend beinge not yet fully settled it was thought fitt to employ them still in the businesse whoe were best acquainted with it. And alsoe because the Church

beinge Newly gathered the Deacons were best acquainted with such members as had need of assistance, and w$^{th}$ the estate of thosse who should assist and Contribute. Then they put vp a request vnto the states and another to the Magistrates of the Citty for increase of meanes towards the Maintenance of the Minister, that soe the Cittizens of the English Nation might be eased. The states granted an increase of 100g yearly and the Magistrates the like somme, so that the Minister from the states and Magistrates received yearly 500g, and from the Cittizens 100g and this was paid quarterly by equall portions./.

In June 1625 the Preacher Elders and Deacons of the English Congregation petitioned to the states and Magistrates of the Citty that because the Church of st Katherine was somewhat toe farr out of the way that they might haue againe the vse of st Peters Church; And procured to that end the Letters of recommendation of Henry Earle of Oxford, and Generall Cicill, w$^{ch}$ was granted vnto them, and tooke now possession therof 24$^{th}$ July 1625./.

The 8$^{th}$ of June 1626 m$^{r}$ Thomas Scott was killed goeinge to the Church by one John Lambert soldier of Viscount Wimbletons Companie./.

The Consistorie of the English Congregation fearinge that their church might fall to the ground beinge but newly raised, writ the 19$^{th}$ of June Letters in the name of the Congregation to one m$^{r}$ Jeremie Elbrough then at Montford, Lamentinge their heavy Losse, entreated his presence to accompanie the dead corps, and to conferre with him further in acceptinge the place of m$^{r}$ Scott.

The said m$^{r}$ Elbrough came, yet could not accept the call vntill he was freed from Colonel Levistone to whose regiment he was lately taken to be minister, w$^{ch}$ leaue he shortly after obtained./.

The 20$^{th}$ June the Synod of the English and Scotch Nation was kept at Vtrecht, and the Elders put vp a petition to the said Synod that the said Elbrough might be admitted for their Pastor w$^{ch}$ was granted, wherevpon the Synod with the Elders put vp requests to the Lords the states and Magistrates of the Citty that they would be pleased to afford m$^{r}$ Elbrough the same allowance to be continewed to him as was before granted

to m^r^ Scott; w^ch^ requests were granted, and the same Meanes continued./.

Then the Elders and Deacons acquainted their Pastor m^r^ Elbrough how many of the Cittizens were not able to pay the somme that was formerly agreed on generally to make vp to make vp [*sic*] the yeerly 200g vid:t 100g to the Preacher, the other to the Reader: Wherevpon m^r^ Elbrough discharged them of his stipend, and left it free to some of abilitie to giue, w^ch^ were before bound by couenant to pay./.

M^r^ Jeremy Elbrough hauinge received Letters testimoniall out of England as he was inioyned by the Synod, was confirmed in his pastorall charge of the English Church at Vtrecht, by m^r^ John Forbes Preacher to the English marchants at Delft, on Thursday the iith Janu*ary* 1627: there were present m^r^ Samuell Batchelor Preacher to the Regiment of S^r^ Charles Morgan Knight and Colonel; m^r^ Flaman [?] one of the Dutch Preachers of the Citty; alsoe John Innis [?] Wenwall [?] one of the Magistrates of the Citty, with the Captaines English of the Garrison, and the Burgers of the Citty./.

The 29^th^ August 1627 vpon the request of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Church, the states and Magistrates of the Citty allowed eich an augmentation of 50g by the yeare: soe that now the states and Magistrates eich of them haue giuen and doe giue still 300g. yearly./.

Note that all this While the English Church at Vtrecht was gouerned by it selfe, and many disputes and questions thereofe arisinge troubled as well the states as Magistrates and the Classis, they tooke notice therof, and resolued to make them a member of the Classis, yet did they continue by themselues as long as m^r^ Elbrough was here./.

In the yeare 1629 m^r^ Elbrough was called to be Minister at Hambrough to the English Marchants theere, and in his place succeeded Doctor Alexander Leighton a scotchman and at his beinge taken on there was observed the Order of the Classis; as alsoe he tooke session with them and the English was admitted as a Member of the Classis./.

.....[1]

[1] I have given here only about half of the contents of this manuscript.

[A Letter of Robert Crane's to his Cousin, Sir Robert Crane, Knight and Baronet at Chilton, Suffolk, dated "Vtrecht y^e^ 16[..?] 1640", concerning the English Church at Arnheim.][1]

S^r^

Since I came into these Countryes I haue bin in a perpetuall Motion, still rooleinge from Citye to Citye, so as yet I could not gather any thinge worth your notice, nor truly is there almost any discourse but of the lamented state of England. I meete here with many sects, but few Religions, and see more superstion [superstition] in theire houses then in theire Temples, 'tis vsuall to prophane the Churches without contradiction, whilst the very ground of their Chambers is held as holy; either wee must walke bare-foote, or else noe admission into theire Paradise, and if accidentally wee enter into a Garden, we find euery Tree bareth forbidden fruite; In Gelderland at the Citie of Arnham [?] [Arnheim] I receiued greate fauors from diuers worthy gentlemen of our Nation who haue theire seated themselfs, especially from these S^r^ William Constable, S^r^ Mathew Boynton, S^r^ Richard Saltingston of Yorkshire, as also from M^r^ Laurence who within few yeares liued neere Berrye [Bury St Edmunds?], They haue two Preachers, and this the discipline of theire Church; Vpon euery Sonday a Communion, a prayer before sermon & after, the like in the afternoone [?], The Communion Table stands in the lower end of the Church (*which* hath no Chancell) Altar-wise, where the Cheifest sit & take notes, not a gentlewoman that thinkes her hand to faire to vse her pen & Inke, The Sermon, Prayer and psalme being ended, the greatest companie present theire offeringes, *which* amounte to aboute two or 3 hundred pounds a yeare Sterlinge. the Ministers content themselfs with a hundred pounds a man *per* Annum the Remainder is reserued for pious vses;.....

Your most humble & most obe-
dient Cosen & Seruant
Robert Crane

Vtrecht y^e^ 16
[..?] 1640

[1] Tanner MS. 65 (fol. 24), in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

# XVIII

## SELECTED DOCUMENTS FROM THE GOULD MANUSCRIPT[1] ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SEPARATIST AND INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS IN ENGLAND BEFORE 1642

A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers or Faithfull Extracts. [By Benjamin Stinton.]

ANNO 1712.

I began to make this Collection in Ian: 1710–11.

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Numb: 1.

[So-called Jessey Records or Memoranda.]

The Records of An Antient Congregation of Dissenters from w^ch^ many of y^e^ Independant & Baptist Churches in London took their first rise: ex MSS of M^r^. H. Iessey, w^ch^ I rec^d^. of M^r^. Rich*ard* Adams.

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Of M^r^. Iacob the Cheif beginner of this Church his Works & proceeds about this Way.

Henry Iacob a Preacher, an eminent man for Learning, haveing w^th^ others, often & many ways, sought for Reformation, & shewed the Necessity thereof in regard of the Church of England's so farr remoteness from y^e^ Apostolical Churches in

[1] At Regent's Park College, London. I do not italicize letters which were manifestly first underlined by the Rev. George Gould of Norwich.

his 4 Assertion dedicated to King Iames, & he made an offer of Disputation therein 1604.

A Humble Supplication to his Majesty (viz) King Iames for permission to enjoy y^e^ Government of Christ in lieu of humane Institutions, & abolishing that of the Antichristian Prelacy, as more opposite to Monarchy & to his Royal Prerogative: And haveing set forth 1609.

An Attestation of y^e^ most famious & approved Authors witnessing w^th^ one Mouth y^t^ each Church of Christ should be so independent as it should have y^e^ full Power of all y^e^ Church affairs entire within it selfe: And Published 1610.

The Divine Beginning & Institution of a Visible Church, proveing y^e^ Same by many Arguments, opening Matth: xviii. 15 w^th^ a declaration & fuller evidence of Some things therein: And haveing published 1612.

An Exposition of y^e^ Second Coñandement, shewing that therein now is required a right vissible Church State & Government independent 1610. 1610

He hav ing had much conference about these things here; after y^t^ in y^e^ low Countries he had converse & discoursed much w^th^ Mr Jn.^o^ Robinson late Pastor to y^e^ Church in Leyden & w^th^ others about them: & returning to England In London he held many several meetings w^th^ the most famious Men for Godliness and Learning (viz) M^r^ Throgmorton, M^r^ Travers, M^r^ Wing[1], M^r^ Rich Mansell, M^r^ Jn.^o^ Dodd [(]to whom D^r^ Bladwell was brought y^t^ by his opposition y^e^ Truth might y^e^ More appeare) these w^th^ others haveing seriously weighed all things & Circumstances M^r^ Jacob & Some others sought y^e^ Lord about them in fasting & Prayer togeather: at last it was concluded by y^e^ Most of them, that it ware a very warrantable & commendable way to set upon that Course here as well as in Holland or elsewhere, whatsoever Troubles should ensue. H. Jacob was willing to adventure himselfe for this Kingdom of Christs sake, y^e^ rest encouraged him.

[1] I think this may have been John Wing, who in 1632 was "Pastor to the English Congregation at Vlishing in Zeeland", and who published in that year a book entitled, "The Crowne Conjugall, or the Spouse Royal,...", 8^o^.

The Church Anno 1616 was gathered
Hereupon y^e^ said Henry Jacob w^th^ Sabine Staismore [Staresmore], Rich Browne, David Prior, Andrew Almey, W^m^ Throughton, Jn^o^ Allen, Mr Gibs, Edw^d^ Farre, Hen Goodall, & divers others well informed Saints haveing appointed a Day to Seek y^e^ Face of y^e^ Lord in fasting & Prayer, wherein that perticular of their Union togeather as a Church was mainly comended to y^e^ Lord: in y^e^ ending of y^e^ Day they ware United, Thus, Those who minded this present Union & so joyning togeather joyned both hands each w^th^ other Brother and stood in a Ringwise: their intent being declared, H. Jacob and each of the Rest made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, some ware longer some ware briefer, Then they Covenanted togeather to walk in all Gods Ways as he had revealed or should make known to them

Thus was the begining of that Church of which proceed, they within a few Days gave notice to the Brethen here of the Antient Church.

After this Hen Jacob was Chosen & Ordained Pastor to that Church, & many Saints ware joyned to them.

The same Year y^e^ Said Hen Jacob w^th^ y^e^ advice & consent 161
of the Church, & of some of those Reverend Preachers beforesaid published to y^e^ World

A Confession & Protestation in the Name of certain Christians, therein showing wherein they consent in Doctrine w^th^ y^e^ Church of England, & wherein they ware bound to dissent, with their evidences from y^e^ Holy Scriptures for their dissent in about 28 perticulars viz

1. Christs offices.
2. Scriptures all Suffic.
3. Churches Distinction.
4. Visibile Church.
5. Synods & Counsels.
6. Cathol. Church Politick.
7. Provinciall Church.
8. Parish Chu. Bondage.
9. L. Arch: Bp^s^. L. Bp^s^.

10. Makeing Ministers.
11. what Coñunion w$^{th}$ them.
12. Pluralists. No[*n*]residents
13. Discipline Censures
14. Pastors Number & Power
15. Mixt Multitude.
16. Humane Traditions.
17. Traditions Apostolick.
18. Of Prophecy.
19. Reading Homilies.
20. Christs descent to Hell.
21. Of Prayer.
22. Holy Days so called.
23. Marriage, Burying, Churching, &c.
24. Ministers being Magistrates.
25. Lords Days Offerings.
26. Tiths Church Dues
27. Magistrates Power
28. Necessity on us to obey Christ rather than Man herein.[1]

With a Petition to y$^{e}$ King in y$^{e}$ Conclusion for Tolleration to such Christians.

At y$^{e}$ Same time also he published a Collection of Sundery Reasons. 20 & 4 Conclusions proveing how necessary it is for all Christians to Walk in all y$^{e}$ Ways & Ordinances of God in purity, in a right Church way. part of them were made by M$^{r}$ Wring [? Wing] the Preacher.

About eight Years H. Jacob was Pastor of y$^{e}$ Said Church & when upon his importunity to go to Virginia, to w$^{ch}$ he had been engaged before by their consent, he was remitted from his said office, & dismissed y$^{e}$ Congregation to go thither, wherein after [blank space] Years he ended his Dayes. In the time of his Service much trouble attended that State & People, within & without. 1624

After his Departure hence y$^{e}$ Congregation remained a Year

[1] In the Gould Manuscript these twenty-eight "particulars" are arranged in two columns of fourteen each.

or two edifying one another in y^e^ best manner they could according to their Gifts received from above, And then at length Iohn Lathorp sometimes a Preacher in Kent, joyned to y^e^ Said Congregation; And was afterwards chosen and Ordained a Pastor to them, a Man of tender heart and a humble and meek Spirit serveing the Lord in the ministry about 9 Years to their great Comfort.

1632. the 2^d^ Month (called Aprill) y^e^ 29^th^ Day being y^e^ 163
Lords Day, the Church was seized upon by Tomlinson, y^e^ Bps Pursevant, they ware mett in y^e^ House of Hump: Bornet [Barnet], Brewers Clark in Black: Fryers, he being no member or hearing abroad, At w^ch^ time 18 were not coñitted but scaped or ware not then present.

About 42 ware all taken & their names given vp. Some ware not coñitted, as M^rs^ Bernet, M^r^ Lathorp, W. Parker, M^rs^ Allen &c Several ware coñitted to the Bps Prison called then the New Prison in [blank space] Crow a merchants house again) & thence Some to y^e^ Clink, some to y^e^ Gat house, & some that thought to have escaped he joyned to them, being in Prison togeather viz

| | |
|---|---|
| John Lathorp | Widd Ferne |
| Sam House | Bro^r^ Arnold |
| John Woddin | Marke Lucar |
| M^r^ Granger | M^r^ Jones |
| M^r^ Barbone | [blank space] |
| Mr. Sargent | Sam Hon [How?] |
| Sister House | M^r^ Wilson |
| John Milburn | M^r^ Crafton [Grafton] |
| Henry Parker | H. Dod, deceased, a Prisoner |
| M^r^ Jacob | M^r^ Lemar.[1] |

1632 Elizab. Milburn, about 26 coñited y^e^ 12^th^ of y^e^ 2^nd^ Month (called May 12^th^) being y^e^ Lords Day. Just a fortnight after was y^e^ Antient Church so seized upon & two of them coñitted to be fellow Prisoners with these. The Lord thus tryed &

[1] In the Gould Manuscript these names are written in four columns, and the word "Prisoner" in the entry relating to "H. Dod" is there placed in the margin.

experienced them & their Friends & foes y^e^ Space of some two Years, some only under Baill, some in Hold: in w^ch^ time y^e^ Lord Wonderfully magnified his Name & refreshed their Spirits abundantly, for

1. In that time y^e^ Lord opened their mouths so to speak at y^e^ High Coñission & Pauls & in private even y^e^ weake Women as their Subtill & malicious Adversarys ware not able to resist but ware asshamed.
2. In this Space y^e^ Lord gave them So great faviour in y^e^ Eyes of their Keepers y^t^ they suffered any friends to come to them and they edifyed & comforted one another on y^e^ Lords Days breaking bread &c.
3. By their Holy & Gratious carriage in their Sufferings, he so convinced others y^t^ they obtained much more faviour in the Eyes of all Such generally as feared God then formerly, so that many ware very kind & helpfull to them, contributing to their Necessities, some weekly sending Meat &c, to them.
4. Their Keepers found [them] so sure in their promises that they had freedom to go home, or about their Trades, or buisness whensoever they desired, & set their time, & say they would then returne it was enough without the charges of one to attend them.
5. In this very time of their restraint y^e^ Word was so farr from bound, & y^e^ Saints so farr from being scared from the Ways of God that even then many ware in Prison added to y^e^ Church, viz

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jo. Ravenscroft | Will^m^ | Harris |
| Widd Harvey | Tho^s^ | |
| Mary Atkin | Jane | |
| Tho^s^ Wilson | Widd. White. | |
| Sarah..... | Ailce | Wincop.[1] |
| Hump: Bernard [Barnet or Bernet] | Eliz | |
| | Rebec | |
| G. Wiffield | | |

6. Not one of those that ware taken did recant or turne back from the truth, through fear or through flatterry or cunning Slights but all ware y^e^ more strenghtened [*sic*] thereby.

[1] In the Gould MS. these names are arranged in four columns.

7. When in y^e^ time of their Sufferings, M^r^ [John] Davenport had so preached that some brought the Notes of his Sermon to these, as if it ware to condem their practice, & would have them answer them if they could: they sent a letter to him desireing he would Send them his own Notes to avoid Mistakes hoping that either he might inform them or they him in some things discover to him w^t^h[w^t^] was made known to them, He loveingly performed it, they having perused his Notes, wrote back to him a large answer; after his receipt thereof he never did cõunicate with them any more, but went away when y^e^ Sacrament day came, and afterward preached, publickly & privately for y^e^ truth, & soon afterward went to Holland, where he sufferd somewhat for y^e^ truths sake, & then went to New England where he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here, 'though there without such Persecution.

8. The Answers of M^rs^ Jones & Some others in y^t^ time of their Sufferings are not Yet Extent for y^e^ Comfort and Encouragement of others against taking that Oath ex officio against false Accusers. Their Petitions to his Maj.^ty^

Sarah Jones her Grievances given in & read openly at y^e^ Cõmission Court.

Her Cronicle of Gods remarkable Judgments & dealings that Year &c wonderfull are the Lords works its meet he should have all y^e^ Praise.

After y^e^ Space of about 2 Years of the Sufferings & Patience of these Saints they ware all released upon Bail (some remaining so to this day as M^r^ Jones &c, though never called on) only to M^r^ Lathorp & M^r^ Grafton they refused to shew such faviour, they ware to remain in Prison without release.

At last there being no hopes y^t^ M^r^ Lathorp should do them further Service in y^e^ Church, he having many motives to go to new England if it might be granted After the Death of his Wife he earnestly desiring y^e^ Church would release him of y^t^ office w^ch^ (to his grief) he could no way performe, & that he might have their consent to goe to new England, after serious consideration had about it it was freely granted to him Then Petition being made that he might have Liberty to 163
depart out of y^e^ Land he was released from Prison 1634, about

y^e^ 4^th^ Month called Iune, & about 30 of the members, who desired leave & permission from y^e^ Congregation to go along with him, had it granted to them, namely, M^r^ Io: Lathorp, Sam. House, Iohn Wodwin, Goodwife Woodwin, Elder & Younger, Widd: Norton, & afterwards Rob.^t^ Linel & his Wife, M^r^ & M^rs^ Laberton, M^rs^ Hamond, M^rs^ Swinerton

1620 joyned those w^th^ M^r^ Iacob, these inhabiting in Coulchester (though an old Church of y^e^ Separation was there) viz Ioshua Warren, Henry Ianuary, St Puckle a..... Manasses Kenton, Lemuel Tuke &c who afterwards by Concent became a Church. Tuke left them & is a Preacher at Dry.

1630 M^rs^ Dupper had been of this Congregation he w^th^ Tho: 1630
Dyer y^t^ was one of them & Daniel Chidley y^e^ Elder.....
.....these joyned togeather to be a Church, M^r^ Boy joyned himself to them & M^r^ Stanmore [Staismore?] Benj: Wilkins, Hugh Vesse, Iohn Flower, Bro: Morton, & his Wife, Iohn Ierrow.

1633. There haveing been much discussing these denying Truth 1633
of y^e^ Parish Churches, & y^e^ Church being now become so large y^t^ it might be prejudicial, these following desired dismission that they might become an Entire Church, & further y^e^ Comunion of those Churches in Order amongst themselves, w^ch^ at last was granted to them & performed Sep^t^ 12. 1633 viz

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Henry Parker & Wife | | |
| Widd: Fearne | Marke Luker | .....Hatmaker |
| M^rs^ Wilson | Mary Milburn | Tho^s^ Allen. |
| | Io: Milburn | |
| | Arnold | |

To These Ioyned Rich: Blunt, Tho: Hubert, Rich: Tredwell & 1633
his Wife Kath:, Iohn Trimber, W^m^ Iennings & Sam Eaton Mary Greenway——M^r^ Eaton with Some others receiving a further Baptism.

Others joyned to them,

1638. These also being of y^e^ same Iudgment w^th^ Sam. Eaton & desireing to depart & not to be censured our interest in them was remitted w^th^ Prayer made in their behalfe Iune 8^th^ 1638. They haveing first forsaken Us & Ioyned w^th^ M^r^ Spilsbury, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| M$^{r}_{m}$ Peti. Fener | W$^{m}_{m}$ Batty |
| Hen. Pen | M$^{rs}_{m}$ Allen (died 1639) |
| Tho. Wilson | M$^{rs}_{m}$ Norwood |

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Other Persecutions besides the Persecutions befores$^{d}$

The Good Lord Iesus gave, (Satan still envying y$^{e}$ Prosperity of Zion, stirred up against this Church) several Tryalls afterwards wherein still y$^{e}$ Lord gave occation of Triumphing in him; It's good to record & bring to remembrance our Straights & y$^{e}$ Lords Enlargements, Experience works Hope & Hope maketh not asshamed because y$^{e}$ Love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. to instance in

Iohn Trash was taken by Rag at M$^{r}$ Digbeys & not Yelding 1636
to Rags general warrant was had to y$^{e}$ L. Mayor.....& was coñitted to y$^{e}$ Poultrey Counter for ten days & then was released upon Bail, wanted his health & was shortly after translated.

11$^{th}_{m}$ Month (vulgarly Ianuary) y$^{e}$ 21 day at Queenhith
(where M$^{r}$ Glover, M$^{r}$ Eaton, M$^{r}$ Eldred & others ware w$^{th}$ us) 1637
after Exercise was done, by means M$^{r}$.....the overthwart Neighbour, Officers & others came, at last both y$^{e}$ Sheriffs, & then Veasy y$^{e}$ Pursevant who took y$^{e}$ names; The Lord gave such Wisdom, in their Carriage y$^{t}$ some of their opposers afterwards did much favour them & bail'd them. The next Day Veasy the Pursevant got Money of some of them, & so they ware dismissed, 4 ware coñitted to y$^{e}$ Poultrey Counter viz

R. Smith M$^{rs}_{m}$ Iacob S. Dry

3 Month 8$^{th}_{m}$ Day At M$^{rs}_{m}$ DeLamars Veasy w$^{th}$ others came 1638
upon them in Barnaby Street by Male all taken 4 bound to answer at High Coñission. viz Br. Russell & Cradock

11$^{th}$ Month at Lambeth M$^{rs}$ Lovel & M$^{rs}$ Chitwood by Doctor 1639
Featly were sent to Kings Bench & by Doct$^{r}$ Lauds direction bound to y$^{e}$ Assizes

2 Month Vulgo Aprill 21. At Tower Hill at M$^{rs}_{m}$ Wilsons 1640
where some ware seeking y$^{e}$ Lord w$^{th}$ fasting for y$^{e}$ Parliament (like to be dissolved unless they would grant Subsidies for

Warrs against ye Scotish) by Procurement of Male ye Arch Prelates Pursevant, Sr Wm Balford Leivetenant of ye Tower sent theither H Jesse (who he found praying for ye King as he told his Magty) Mrs Iones, Mr Brown wth others about 20.
Then Sr Wm asked his Magesties Pleasure concerning them who would have them Released but Dr Laud ye Arch Bishop being Presant desired the men might be bound to ye Sessions wch was perform & no Enditement being there against them at their appearance they ware freed.

Also 6 Month 21. at our Brother Goldings by ye Constables 1641
means, Alderman Somes came who took ye Names of Mr Puckle & Iohn Stoneard, ye Constables carried them with Mr Golding, Mr Shambrook & some others to ye Mayor who bound them to ye Sessions, from whence their Accusers being called then to take ye Protestation wth their Parishoners none appearing against them they ware freed.

Also 6 Month 22d day at the L Nowels house ye same 1641
L Mayor Sr Iohn Wright came Violently on them, beat, thrust, pinched & kicked such men or Women as fled not his handling, among others Mrs Berry who miscarryed & dyed the same week & her Child. He comitted to ye Counter H. Iessey, Mr Nowel, Mr Ghofton [Grafton], & that night bound them to answer at ye House of Comons where they appearing he let it fall.

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## Covenant Renewed.

Whilst Mr Lathorp was an Elder here some being greived
1630 against one that had his Child then Baptized in ye Common Assemblies, & desireing & urging a Renouncing of them, as Comunion wth them, Mr Can also then walking Saints where he left Mr How (he going wth Some to Holland) He desiring that ye Church wth Mr Lathorp would renew their Covenant in Such a Way, & then he with Others would have Comunion wth them: Mr Dupper would have them therein to Detest & Protest against ye Parish Churches, Some ware Unwilling in their Covenanting either to be tyed either to protest against ye truth of them, or to affirm it of them, not

knowing w^t^ in time to come God might further manifest to them thereabout Yet for peace Sake all Yelded to renew their Covenant in these Words

To Walke togeather in all y^e^ Ways of God So farr as he hath made known to Us, or shall make known to us, & to forsake all false Ways, & to this the several Members Subscribed their hands

After this followed several Sheets containing y^e^ Names of y^e^ Members of y^e^ said Congregation & y^e^ time of their admission[1]

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Numb: 2

[So-called Kiffin Manuscript.]

An Old MSS, giveing some Acco^tt^ of those Baptists who first formed themselves into distinct Congregations, or Churches in London. found among certain Paper given me by M^r^ Adams.

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Sundry of y^e^ Church whereof M^r^ Iacob & M^r^ Iohn Lathorp
1633. had been Pastors, being dissatisfyed w^th^ y^e^ Churches owning of 1633
English Parishes to be true Churches desired dismission & Ioyned togeather among themselves, as M^r^ Henry Parker, M^r^ Tho. Shepard M^r^ Sam^ll^ Eaton, Marke Luker, & others w^th^ whom Ioyned M^r^ W^m^ Kiffen.

1638. M^r^ Tho: Wilson, M^r^ Pen, & H. Pen, & 3 more being
1638 convinced that Baptism was not for Infants, but professed 1638
Beleivers joyned w^th^ M^r^ Io: Spilsbury y^e^ Churches favour being desired therein

3^d^ Mo: The Church became two by mutuall consent just 1640
1640 half being w^th^ M^r^ P. Barebone, & y^e^ other halfe with M^r^ H. Iessey M^r^ Richard Blunt w^th^ him being convinced of Baptism y^t^ also it ought to be by diping y^e^ Body into y^e^ Water, resembling Burial & riseing again. 2 Col: 2. 12. Rom: 6. 4. had sober conferance

[1] It is a great pity that Stinton did not think it worth while to transcribe this extended list of the members of the church.

about in y^e^ Church, & then w^th^ some of the forenamed who also ware so convinced: And after Prayer & conferance about their so enjoying it, none haveing then so so [*sic*] practised in England[1] to professed Believers, & hearing that some in y^e^ Nether Lands had so practised they agreed & sent over M^r^ Rich. Blunt (who understood Dutch) w^th^ Letters of Cõmendation, who was kindly accepted there, & returned w^th^ Letters from them Io: Batte a Teacher there, & from that Church to such as sent him.

They proceed on therein, viz, Those Persons y^t^ ware persuaded 1641
Baptism should be by dipping[2] y^e^ Body had mett in two Companies, & did intend so to meet after this, all these agreed to proceed alike togeather. And then Manifesting (not by any formal Words a Covenant) w^ch^ word was scrupled by some of them, but by mutual desires & agreement each Testified.:

Those two Companyes did set apart one to Baptize the rest; So it was solemnly performed by them.

M^r^ Blunt Baptized M^r^ Blacklock y^t^ was a Teacher amongst them, & M^r^ Blunt being Baptized, he & M^r^ Blacklock Baptized y^e^ rest of their friends that ware so minded, & many being added to them they increased much

The Names of all 11 Mo. Ianu: begin

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Blunt | Sam. Blacklock | Tho Shephard } |
| Greg. Fishburn | Doro: Fishburn | his Wife } |
| Iohn Cadwell | Eliz. Cadwell | Mary Millisson |
| Sam. Eames | Tho. Munden | |
| Tho. Kilcop | William Willieby | |
| Robert Locker | Mary Lock[*er* ?] | |

[1] That is perhaps more accurately in London.

[2] In Vol. I., p. 334, I speak of this mode of baptism by "dipping" as having received about 1641 the nickname of "ducking over head and ears". This expression, however, seems to have been of much earlier origin, for in Stephen Denison's "The Doctrine of both the Sacraments", London, 1621, p. 23, occur the following unexpected words:—"*Be Baptized*, the word translated baptizing doth most properly signifie dipping ouer head and eares,..." He also says, p. 11, that "by report" there were "not a few Anabaptists" about London in 1621, but gives no suggestion that they then practised immersion.

| | |
|---|---|
| Iohn Braunson | Iohn Bull |
| Rich. Ellis | Mary Langride |
| W$^{m}_{r}$ Creak | Mary Haman |
| Rob$^{t}$ Carr | Sarah Williams |
| Martin Mainprise | Ioane } Dunckle<br>Ann } |
| Hen: Woolmare[1] | Eliz. Woolmore |
| Rob$^{t}$ King | Sarah Norman |
| Tho. Waters | Isabel Woolmore |
| Henry Creak | Iudeth Manning |
| Mark Lukar | Mabel Lukar |
| Henry Darker | Abigal Bowden |
| Eliz Iessop | Mary Creak |
| | Susanah King |

41 in all

* 11$^{th}$ month understood as appears above, & this was Ianu$^{y}$ 9$^{th}_{m}$.

11* Ianuary 9 added

| | |
|---|---|
| Iohn Cattope | George Denham |
| Nicholas Martin | Tho: Daomunt |
| Ailie[2] Stanford | Rich Colgrave |
| Nath Matthon[3] | Eliz Hutchinson |
| Mary Burch | Iohn Croson |
| | Sybilla Lees |
| | Iohn Woolmoore |

thus 53 in all

Those that ware so minded had coñunion togeather were become Seven Churches in London. 164

M$^{r}$ Green w$^{th}$ Cap$^{t}$ Spencer had begun a Congregation in Crutched Fryers, to whom Paul Hobson joyned who was now w$^{th}$ many of that Church one of y$^{e}$ Seven 163

These being much spoken against as unsound in Doctrine as if they ware Armenians, & also against Magistrates &c they joyned togeather in a Confession of their Faith in fifty two Articles w$^{ch}$ gave great satisfaction to many that had been prejudiced. 164

Se y$^{e}$ Notes at y$^{e}$ End of y$^{e}$ Confession.

[1] [? Woolmore]. [2] [? Ailce, i.e., Alice]. [3] [? Matthew].

Thus Subscribed in y^e^ names of 7 Churches in London:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| W^m^ Kiffin | | |
| Tho: Patience | Tho: Gun | Paul Hobson |
| Geo: Tipping | Io: Mabbet | Tho: Goore |
| Iohn Spilsbury | Iohn Web | Io: Phelps |
| Tho: Shepard | Tho: Kilcop | Edward Heath |
| Tho: Munden | | |

[Part of] Numb: 23. [which is]

An Account of A Church that usually met in Southwark near S^t^ Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, & partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y^e^ Reign of K. Iames I, to their Dissolution in 1705.

taken out of their Church Book, &c.

[Supposed to have been written by old M^r^ (Iohn ?) Webb.]

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This Church I find was constituted in Gospell Order about y^e^ Year 1621. The first Pastor thereof was one M^r^ Hubbard, a learned Man of Episcopal Ordination, who having left the Church of England, took his Ministry from this Church, & with them went into Ireland, & there died. They returned again to England, and chose M^r^ Iohn Canne, (famous for filling up a Bible with Marginal Notes to this day much valued) to be their Pastor, who attended that service for some time, and then with some of the Members left the Church, and went to Amsterdam, and there continued with the English Church many years, and tho' he came into England afterwards, yet he returned to Amsterdam, and there died. During which time they continued without a Pastor, and then chose M^r^ Sam: How, who served in the ministration about 17 years and died in peace very much lamented. In his time they were persecuted beyond measure by the Clergy and Bishops Courts, and he dying under the Sentence of Excommunication, They with a Constables guard secured the parish ground at Shoreditch to prevent his being buried there so that he was buried at Anis a Cleer, and several of his Members according to their desire was buried there likewise. He wrote that little Book so often

printed, called Hows Sufficiency of the Spirits teachings, and was very famous for his vindication of the Doctrines of Separation, and both he and his People were much harrassed for it by their Enemies, and were forced to meet together in fields and woods to avoid them.

They afterwards chose one M^r^ Stephen More to be their Pastor. He was a Deacon of their Church excellently gifted for the work of the ministry, a man of good reputation and possessed of an Estate. In his time their Case was altered for the better, and they who used to be avoided, and who were hardly reckoned among men, but look'd on as a kind of Wild Creatures, and greatly persecuted, met with some respite of peace. Indeed once on a Lords day when they were met together, they were taken, and by S^r^ Iohn Ludhall [Lenthall] committed to the Clink Prison and some of them had before the house of Lords as aforementioned. But after that I find little interruption given them.

A Brief Account of this Church of Christ, from the begining: Togeather w^th^ y^e^ Progressions down to this present Year. 1699.

According to y^e^ best Account from Ancient Members therein, & such Notices as in Old Books we find: That about y^e^ Year 1621 was this Church constituted in Gospel Order, & carried on by one M^r^ Hubbert; who in that time of Trouble then all did pass to Ireland, where he for some time continued with them & dyed. He was a Man brought up in Learning, & was formerly an ordained Man of the Church of England, but renounc'd it, & took his Ministry from that Church. This one thing is remarkable of him, That on his Death-bed he said, He thought there was Some Spell in his first Ordination, Seing that tho he knew y^t^ Some of y^e^ Members had as good gifts as himselfe & more Grace Yet could not get over this, but think of himselfe aboue them & thought this did arise from y^e^ Impressions in his mind made at that Ordination. This Church returned into England, & kept close their Cõunion here about London, where one M^r^ Tho: Hancock, a member of this Church,

preaching to them as a Brother for some Months. After w^ch^ y^e^ Church called M^r^ Iohn Can, (who was since famous for filling up a Bible w^th^ Marginal Notes, to this day much Vallued) whom y^e^ Church called & Chose their Pastor, who attended that Service for Some Time, & then w^th^ Some of y^e^ Members left y^e^ Church, & went to Amsterdam, & there continued w^th^ y^e^ English Church many Years; And tho he came into England after yet returned & there dyed. All w^ch^ time y^e^ Church planted by M^r^ Hubbard, w^th^ Such other as Ioyned w^th^ them continued serving the Lord w^th^ Singleness of heart, & in process of time had y^e^ Oportunity of enjoying as a Member Sam: How.

At w^ch^ time, they Solemly renewed & confirmed their Antient League & Covenant one w^th^ another, & then did freely Elect, Choose, & Ordain y^e^ Said Sam.^l^ How to be their Pastor, who faithfully & painfully served in this Ministration about the Space of Seven Years, till, according to y^e^ will of God, he fell asleep [& died in Peace] in a troublesome Day, being much lamented.

Before I go further take these remarks on this Sam^l^ How who lived about 1634 or 35, w^ch^ was a time of great trouble by the Bpp^s^ Courts in King Charles y^e^ 1^st^ time, in many Vexatious Conditions by Pursevants &c, & Excomunications: & This Servant of Christ dyed under this Punishment, & therefore they would not let him have y^t^ w^ch^ they call Christian Burial, but w^th^ a Constables gaurd secured y^e^ Parish ground at Shoreditch against them, who very quietly was buried at Anis-a Cleer, where several Members desired & when dead was buried by him. This is y^t^ How so much talked of in latter Years who wrote y^e^ little Book so often printed, called Hows Sufficiency of y^e^ Spirits Teaching &c. And as farr as I can find by them y^t^ were of y^e^ Church at y^t^ time (for I know many of them) he was famous for y^e^ Vindication of y^e^ Doctrines of Seperation, & were for it much harrassed up & down in Fields & Woods; but God was w^th^ them, & they cheerfully passed along.

After these things, some considerable time after, finding y^e^ want of a Pastor, & desireing y^e^ Groth of y^e^ Church, & their

Edification, they chose out among themselves, & pitched upon Stephen More, a gifted Brother, & a Deacon to y^e^ Church, & did freely Elect, Choose & Ordain him unto that Office about y^e^ Year 1641. He was a Cityzen of Good Worth, & possessed of Some Estate, & lived in good Reputation, yet did he willingly comply w^th^ all y^e^ Providences of God in all their Afflictions & Sufferings to Serve our Lord Iesus, & purchased to himselfe a good degree & great boldness in his Work, &c.[1]

.....

.....

[1] Since this material was prepared for the press, Dr Whitley has published the entire document with some useful annotations ("Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society" for May, 1910).

# XIX

## THE NAMES, TRADES, AND POOR ESTATE OF ALL THE SEPARATISTS LIVING IN GREAT YARMOUTH ABOUT JULY 17, 1630

The names of all such Seperatist*es* or Brownist*es* as are resident within the Towne of great Yarmouth ["Julij. 17. 1630"][1]

1 William Vring now in Norwich Castle and comitted to the Goale in Yarmouth by W$^{m}$ Buttolphe & Henry Da[..]
2 his wife./
3 Raphaell Bishoppe
4 Andrew Purkis
5 et vxor
6 William Birchall now in Yarmouth Goale./
7 Thomas Caine in the same Goale./
8 et vxor
9 Samuell Butler
10 Edmond Cannon
11 et vxor
12 Marie Ladd widdow
13 Ioane Balles
14 Iane Blogg
15 Iane Bridgwell
16 Ellen Tilles
17 Anne Trindle
18 Widdow March
19 Alice Witherell
20 Margarett Neave
21 Effa Wiseman
22 Alice Smith
23 Dyonis Springall
24 Valentine Porte
25 vxor Bob*er*ti Baffam
26 vxor Thomæ Parker
27 Ruth Burton
28 Ellen Smith

Marie Ennis and Adam Goodwins of Castor tw[o] miles distant from Yarmouth who sometimes frequ[ent ?] them./

[1] S. P., Dom., Charles I., Vol. 171 (9).

A true relation of the estates and Condicons [*sic*] of theise people./

William Vring a poore Mariner now in prison lives on the baskett./
Raphaell Bishopp a Shoomaker not worth 5.$^{libras}$
Andrew Purkis sometime a brewer not worth 20.$^{libras}$
William Birchall a poore dyer being now in prison liv[es ?] on the baskett./
Thomas Caine [?] now in prison lives on the basquett./
Samuell Butler in shew the Ablest of them all a grocer far[r ?] indebted and one that dealeth altogether vpon Creditt his estate vncerten but valued at 100$^{libras}$ at the most./
Edmond Cannon a Compasse maker not worth x.$^{libras}$
Marie Ladd a poore widdow not able to satisfie her husband[*es* ?] debt*es*
Ioane Balls the wife of Richard Balles Blockmaker a poore man./
Iane Blogg the wife of Edward Blogg Sailor poore.
Ellen Tilles the wife of Iohn Tilles a poore man
Effa Wiseman the wife of Robert wiseman Tailor
Iane Bridgwell poore, Widdow march poore, Anne Trindle poore, Alice witherell poore, Margarett Neve poore Alice Smith poore Dyones Springell poore, Valentine Port a poore labourer, Ruth Burton, poore;
vxor Roberti Baffam sailor poore; Ellen Smith poore
vxor Thomæ Parker a poore Ioyner./

# XX

## REPORTS RELATING TO THE APPEARANCE OF CERTAIN SEPARATISTS BEFORE THE COURT OF HIGH COMMISSION BETWEEN APRIL 19 AND JUNE 21, 1632

[Under the date April 19, 1632.][1]

Fees by Conventiclers.

Keepers of Conventicles would not pay their Fees to be discharged after their answere, it was said therefore, they have not made their answere, & they were committed for not answering, although they had, but had not paied their Fees.

.....

In the Court of high Commission
3 Maij. 1632.

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Conventiclers.

This day were brought to y^e^ Court out of prison divers persons (and some of them appeared by bond) which were taken on Sunday last at a Conventicle mett at y^e^ house of [———] Barnett a brewers Clarke dwellinge in y^e^ precint of Black Fryars. By name Iohn Latroppe their Minister Humphrey Bernard [Barnett], Henry Dod, Samuell Eaton [———] Granger Sara Iones, Sara Iacob, Pennina Howse, Sara Barbon, Susan Wilson: and divers other [*sic*] there were which appeared not this day. M^r^. Latropp y^e^ Minister did not appeare at y^e^ first, but kept himself out of y^e^ way a while, therefore the man of

[1] From Rawl. MS. A. 128, in the Bodleian Library. As has been said in Vol. I., p. 322, note, these reports were published in full by S. R. Gardiner in his "Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission", Camden Society, 1886, but the portions required ought also for convenience to be found here.

the howse wherein they were taken was first called: who was asked when he was at his parish Church? He answered that he was then at his parish Church when they were in his house, and that he vseth to goe to church, but his wife will not, then said the ArchBishop of York, will yo$^{u}$ suffer that in yo*ur* wife? Then said the King*es* Advocate these p*er*sons were assembled on Sunday last at this mans house in black Fryars & there vnlawfullie held a Conventicle, for w*hi*ch there are Articles exhibited in this Court against them, I pray that they may be put to answere vppon their oathes to the Articles, & that they sett forth what exercises they vsed, & what were the word*es* spoken by them. And as for yo$^{u}$ m$^{r}$. Dod (quoth y$^{e}$ Advocate) yo$^{u}$ might well haue forborne seing yo$^{u}$ haue been warned heertofore, & passed by vpon promise of amendment: good m$^{r}$ Advocate, spare that, saith Dod: He was asked whether he vseth to come to his parish Church: He saith he hath come to his parish Church as often as he could & vseth to come thither, but he endeavoureth to heare the most powerfull Ministery. and therefore said y$^{e}$ Bishop of London yo$^{u}$ heare m$^{r}$ Latroppe, what ordination hath he? He is a Minister saith m$^{r}$ Dod. did yo$^{u}$ not heare him preach & pray? [?] saith y$^{e}$ B*isho*p. nay yo$^{u}$ yo*ur* self & the rest take vpon yo$^{u}$ to preach & to be Ministers, Noe saith m$^{r}$ Dod, London, yes, yo$^{u}$ doe, and yo$^{u}$ were heard preach & pray. Dod, I shalbe readie in this p*ar*ticuler to confesse my fault, if I am convinced to be in any. Then two of them were put to their oath, but they desired to be excused for this tyme, & that they might have some time to consider & be informed of the oath.

Then said the ArchBishop of Canterbury, yo$^{u}$ shew yo*ur* selves most vnthankfull to God, to y$^{e}$ King & to y$^{e}$ Church of England that when ([?] God be praysed) through his Ma*ies*ties care & ours yo$^{u}$ have preaching in every Church, & men haue liberty to ioyne in prayer & p*ar*ticipate of y$^{e}$ Sacrament*es*, & haue Catechizing*es* & all to enlighten yo$^{u}$, & w*hi*ch may serue yo$^{u}$ in the way of Salvation; yo$^{u}$ in an vnthankfull manner cast of [*sic*] all this yoake, & in private vnlawfullie assemble yo*ur* selues togeather, making rent*es* & divisions in the Church: If anie thing be amisse, let it be knowen, if any thing be not

agreeable to the word of God, we shalbe as readie to redresse it as yo$^{u}$, but whereas it is nothing but your owne imaginations, & yo$^{u}$ are vnlearned men that seeke to make vp a religion of your owne heades! I doubt noe perswasion will serue the turne. We must take this course. yo$^{u}$ are called heere. let them stand vpon their bondes, and let vs see what they will answere, it may be they will answere what may please vs. London. It is tyme to take notice of these, nay this is not the 4$^{th}$ parte of them about this Cittie, yo$^{u}$ see these came of sett purpose they mett not by chance; they are desperatlie hereticall: they are all of different places, one of Essex, S$^{t}$ Austins, S$^{t}$ Martins le grand, Buttolphs Algate, Thisleworth, S$^{t}$ Saviours: let these be imprisonned. Let me make a motion, There be Fower of the ablest men of them, let these 4 answere & be proceeded against, & the while if the rest come in, they shalbe received, but if they will not, I know noe reason why 4 or 5 should [not?] answere for all.

.....

[Under the date May 3, 1632.]

Latroppe. Then came in m$^{r}$ Latropp, who is asked what authority he had to preach, & keepe this Conventicle? and saith the Bishop of London, how manie woemen sate crosse legged vpon y$^{e}$ bedd, whilest yo$^{u}$ sate on one side & preached & prayed most devoutlie? Latroppe, I keepe noe such evill companie, they were not such woemen. London, are yo$^{u}$ a Minister? ArchBishop of Canterbury, are yo$^{u}$ a Minister? Bishop of S$^{t}$ Davides, were not yo$^{u}$ Doctor King the Bishop of Londons Sizer in Oxford? I take it yo$^{u}$ were; and yo$^{u}$ shew your thankfullnes by this. He answered that he was a Minister, London. how, & by whom, qualified? where are your Orders? Latropp. I am a Minister of the gospell of Christ, and y$^{e}$ Lord hath qualifyed me. Will yo$^{u}$ lay your hand on the booke, & take your oath, saith y$^{e}$ Court? He refuseth the oath.

.....

Samuell Eaton. Samuell Eaton and two women & a maid appeared, who were demaunded why they were assembled in that Conventicle when others were at church? Eaton. we were not assembled in contempt of the Magistrate. London. Noe? it was in contempt

of y^e^ church of England. Eaton. it was in conscience to God (may it please this hono*ra*ble Court) and we were kept from Church, for we were confyned in y^e^ house together by those that besett y^e^ house, els divers would haue gone to Church and manie came in after the sermons were done. London. these were first discovered at Lambeth & then at other places & now taken heere, they haue in their meetinge*s* bookes printed against y^e^ Church of England. ArchBishop of Canterbury. Where were yo^u^ in the morninge before yo^u^ came hither to this house? We were in our owne families. Canterbury. what did yo^u^? we read y^e^ Scriptures and catechized our families (saieth Eaton): and maie it please this this [*sic*] hono*ra*ble Court to heare vs speake the truth, we will shew yo^u^ what was donne, and (free vs of y^e^ contempt of Authority) wee did nothing but what yo^u^ will allow vs to doe. London. who can free yo^u^? these are dangerous men, they are a scattered companie sowen in all the Citty) [*sic*], and about S^t^ Michaell of y^e^ Querne, S^t^ Austins, Ould Iury, Redriffe, & other remoter places. Hould them y^e^ booke Eaton. I dare not sweare, nor take this oath, though I will not refuse it, I will consider of it. Sir Henry Martin, Heare, heare, yo^u^ shall sweare but to answere what yo^u^ know, and so far as yo^u^ are bound by law: yo^u^ shall haue time to consider of it, and haue it read over & over till yo^u^ can say it without booke if yo^u^ will, when yo^u^ haue first taken yo*ur* oath that yo^u^ will make a true answere. Eaton. I dare not, I know not what I shall sweare to. King*es* Advocate. It is to giue a true answere to articles put into y^e^ Court against yo^u^, or that shalbe put in touching this conventicle of yo*urs*, and divers yo*ur* hereticall tenent*es* and what wordes, and exercises yo^u^ vsed, and things of this nature. Eaton I dare not.

Sara Iones. Arch Bishop of Canterbury. What say yo^u^ woman? S. Iones. I dare not worship God in vaine, but saith the Bishop of London, will yo^u^ not sweare and take an oath when yo^u^ are called to it by the Magistrate? S. Iones. yes, I will answere vpon my oath to end a controversy before a lawfull Magistrate. Earle of Dorsett. what doest thou thinke woman of these grave Fathers of the church, that these heere be not lawfull Magistrates? I would doe any thing that is according to Gods word.

ArchB*isho*p of Yorke. would yo$^{u}$? then yo$^{u}$ must take yo*ur* oath now yo$^{u}$ are required by yo*ur* governo*urs*. yo$^{u}$ must sweare in truth, in iudgement in righteousnes. S. Iones. yes, and they that walke in righteousnes shall haue peace. but I dare not forsweare my selfe.

Canterbury. Come what say yo$^{u}$? Pen. I dare not sweare this oath till I am better informed of it, for w*hi*ch I desire tyme: Sir Henry Martin. Must yo$^{u}$ not be readie to giue an answere of yo*ur* faith? Pen. yes, I will giue an answere of my Faith if I be demaunded, but not willinglie forsweare my selfe. /. Pennina Howes / a maide.

Kinge*s* Advocate. what will yo$^{u}$ take yo*ur* oath good woman? S. Barbone. I dare not sweare, I doe not vnderstand it. I will tell the truth w*i*thout swearing. ArchB*isho*p of Canterb*ury*. Take them away. Soe they were all com*m*itted to y$^{e}$ New prison. And it was appointed, that at y$^{e}$ next Court, being a fortnight after this, because of Ascention day they should be brought againe to the Consistorie at Paules, because of trouble & danger in bringinge soe manie prisone*r*s as there were over the water to Lambeth. / Sara Barbone.

In the Court of high Commission at
y$^{e}$ Consistory in Paules 8 May 1632.

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This day all those that were taken in y$^{e}$ Black-Fryars were brought to y$^{e}$ Court vnder y$^{e}$ Custodie of y$^{e}$ Keeper of the New prison. The Kinge*s* Advocate shewed that they were taken at a private Conventicle and prayed that they may take their oathes to answere y$^{e}$ articles w*hi*ch are putt in against them. First Sara Iones was asked, of what parish she was? She said she dwelleth at Lambeth. London. Doe yo$^{u}$ come to y$^{e}$ church? S. Iones. None accuseth me to y$^{e}$ contrary. London. where were yo$^{u}$ vpon Sunday was sennight? S. Iones. when I haue done evill & my accuser come, I will answere. Kinge*s* Advocate. I doe accuse yo$^{u}$, take yo*ur* oath & yo$^{u}$ shall knowe yo*ur* accusac*i*on. S. Iones. I am afraid to take Gods [?] name in vaine, I knowe noe other worship then God hath appointed. London. This yo$^{u}$ are Com*m*aunded to doe of God who saieth yo$^{u}$ must obey your Superio*urs*. S. Iones. That w*hi*ch is of God is Conventiclers. Sara Iones.

according to Gods [?] word and y^e^ Lord will not hold him guiltlesse y^t^ taketh his name in vaine.

Sara Iacob. S. Iacob was called to y^e^ booke but she refused alsoe; [?]

Marke Lucar. Then was called Marke Lucar: who was asked of what parish he was & when he was at Church? M. Lucar. I am yet to chuse of what parish to be. [?] and I doe not remember y^e^ day of y^e^ moneth when I was at Church. London. He doth not remember I dare say y^e^ day of y^e^ moneth nor y^e^ moneth of the yeare when he was at Church, but he dwelleth in S^t^ Austins parish: offer him y^e^ booke. M. Lucar. If I may knowe a law & ground for takeing this oath, I will take it, but I desire to know my articles before I take my oath. ArchBishop of Yorke, whether doe yo^u^ knowe or noe that y^e^ King hath power to take an account of *your* proceeding*es*? London. att their perrills. aske [?] the next.

Iohn Ireland. Iohn Ireland was asked where & when he was at Church. He saith at Mary Maudlins Church in Surrey, And that he was at morninge Church within this halfe yeare. but being asked y^e^ booke. refused to sweare.

Then were called 4 others. Toby Talbot. Will*iam* Pickering. Mabell Milbourne. Will*iam* Attwood, & were put to their

Toby Talbot. oathes. and first Talbot saieth in his excuse that he knoweth not y^e^ articles what they are, and before he would take his oath he would know his accuser. *Sir* Henry Martin. The Law is, that those y^t^ are taken in these Conventicles & remaine obstinate, that they shalbe made to abiure y^e^ Kingdome, and if they returne, or obey not, it is felony therefore freind*es* take heed to *your* selves, and know y^t^ yo^u^ have more favour then yee

Will*iam* Pickering. deserve. Pickering. I trust I haue done nothing against y^e^ law, and for this oath, I doe not know what belongs to it. and

Will*iam* Attwood. he refuseth to take it. Attwood saith, he doth not know what

Mabell Milborne. y^e^ Booke is. M. Milbourne being asked whether she would take her oath, she said that she would not.

London. speake to Dod. Latroppe. & y^e^ man of y^e^ house. Henry Dod yo^u^ are y^e^ obstinate & perverse ringleaders of these folkes: you had a faire admonition y^e^ last Court day. and yo^u^ haue this day assigned yo^u^ to answere vpon *your* oath.

Henry Dod. Dod. I hope we are not soe impious. we stand for y^e^ truth: for

takeing y^e^ oath I craue y*our* patience, I am not resolved vpon it. Brewers Clarke. I was at y^e^ Church, but for takeing y^e^ oath I desire to be resolved[1]. London. M^r^ Latroppe. Hath the Lord qualifyed yo^u^, what authority, what Orders haue yo^u^! the Lord hath qualifyed you, is that a sufficient answere? yo^u^ must giue a better answere before yo^u^ & I part. Latropp. I doe not know that I haue done any thing w*hi*ch might cause me iustly to be brought before y^e^ iudgm*en*t seat of man: and for this oath I doe not know the nature of it. King*es* Advocate. the manner of y^e^ oath is, that yo^u^ shall answere to that yo^u^ are accused of, for Schisme. York. & London. if he will not take his oath, away w*i*th him. Latropp I desire that other passage may be remembred, I dare not take this oath. wherefore the Court ordered, that they should be kept in straight custodie especiallie Latropp. for y^e^ Bishop of London said he had more to answere then he knew of.

Barnet.

Iohn Latropp.

Samuell Eaton being demaunded whether he would take the oath. He answered, I doe not refuse it, though I doe not take it: it is not out of obstinacie, but as I shall answere it at y^e^ last day I am not satisfyed whether I may take it.

Samuel Eaton.

Samuell Howe (saith y^e^ Kings Advocate) yo^u^ are required by y*our* oath to answere to y^e^ articles. Howe. I have served the King both by sea & by land[2], and I had been at sea if this restraint had not been made vpon me: my conversac*i*on I thank God none can taxe. Register. will yo^u^ take y*our* oath? How. I am a yong man, & doe not know what this oath is: King*es* Advocate. The King desires y*our* service in obeying his lawes.

Samuel How.

Then P. Howes was called, and required to take her oath. but she refused. London. Will yo^u^ trust m^r^ Latropp & beleive him rather then y^e^ Church of England. Pennina. I referre my self to the word of God, whether I maie take this oath or noe. Then were called Ioane Ferne & Elizabeth Denne: who refused to sweare till they were informed, and one of them said she

Pennina Howes.

Ioane Ferne.

Elizabeth. Denne.

[1] This answer would seem to suggest that Humphrey Barnett, though not a strict separatist, was after all probably a member of the congregation at this time. This view is contrary to a statement made in Vol. I., page 321.

[2] How this statement agrees with the well-known fact that Samuel How, the separatist, was a cobbler, has not yet been made very clear.

could not read a letter in y^e^ booke: the Kinges Advocate saith their oath was y^t^ they should answere trulie as farre as they knew to the Articles.

Eliz*abeth* Sargeant. Elizabeth Sargeant saith she must not sweare, but when she is before a Magistrate. Why now saith the B*isho*p of

Iohn Egge. London. yo^u^ are called before y^e^ Magistrate, are yo^u^ not? Iohn

Henry Parker. Egge, will yo^u^ take yo*ur* oath? He refuseth. Henry Parker will yo^u^ take yo*ur* oath to answere y^e^ articles? H. P. I doe not deny the oath though I dare not take it, till I shall know

Iohn wood-wyne. what I shall sweare. Iohn woodwyne, He being tendered y^e^ booke, said, I desire to know what I shall sweare to, & what is the end of [t]his oath before he will sweare. Iohn Melborne.

Iohn Melborne. I am not well perswaded of this oath, yet I will not deny it.

Eliz*abeth* Melborne. Eliz*abeth* Melborne. I doe not know any such thing as a Conventicle. we did meete to pray & talke of y^e^ word of God, w*hich* is according to the law of the land. York. God wilbe

Thomas Arundell. served publiquely not in yo*ur* private house. Thomas Arundell of S^t^ Olaves parish refuseth to take the oath for the present,

Will*iam* Granger. till he knew y^e^ Articles that he might informe himself. Will*iam* Granger of S^t^ Margarett*es* in Westm*inster*. He being called, the Bishop of London spake vnto him saying, Granger, yo^u^ looke like a man of fashion will yo^u^ take yo*ur* oath to answere to y^e^ articles according to yo*ur* knowledg, and as farre as yo^u^ are bound by law? Granger, I desire to have some tyme to consider of it. London. I would not have any of the standers by thinke that yo^u^ or any of these have not had tyme to consider of this, yo^u^ rent & teare the Church & will not submitt yo*ur* self to y^e^ tryall of law. yo^u^ must know, the Iustice of this Court is lymited, & yo^u^ may be driven to abiure the Realme

Robert Reignold*es*. for yo*ur* offence. Then Robert Reignold*es* of Thistleworth was tendered the oath. He desired to speak 2 or 3 wordes: If I have done any thing against the Law, lett me be accused by the Course of the law: if I thought this oath might be taken with a good Conscience, I would take it; and I doe for the present desire yo^u^, though yo^u^ doe not pitty me yet to pitty my poore wife & smale Children. York. Pitty yo*ur* wife & Children yo*ur* self, and lay yo*ur* obstinacy to yo*ur* conscience. /

.....

Abigail Delamar a Frenchmans wife, was brought from the New prison to y^e^ Court, & required to take y^e^ oath. She demanded whether it were the oath of Alleageance; the Kinges Advocate said, it was to answere the truth to y^e^ Articles in Court against her as farre as she knew & was bound by law. She said. I neither dare nor will take this oath till I am informed of it, that I may with a good conscience. London. Her husband is y^e^ Queenes servant, & a stiffe Romane Catholique, and she a deepe Familist & Brownist, & one of the Conventiclers taken at BlackFryars, the last weeke ther was a generall fast held in y^e^ prison, that they might be delivered out of prison, I gaue order that all that came to them that day should be stayed, This woman came,.....Canterbury. I see yo^u^ are an obstinate woman, as all the rest of your Companie are. Ab Delamar. yo^u^ persecute vs without a cause yo^u^ haue sent 26 of vs to y^e^ prison, but since we were imprisoned what course haue yo^u^ taken to informe vs? Which of yo^u^ haue sent anie man to vs or taken any paines to informe vs? London. There was a day sett for them to answere at y^e^ Consistorye in Paules: but they haue y^e^ last Sunday peticioned his Maiestie, shewing that it is not out of obstinacie, but they decline y^e^ Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiccon [*sic*] altogether. Woman, take your oath. Ab. Delamar. Noe this oath is condempned by y^e^ law of the land, & I refuse it as an accursed oath, & appeale to y^e^ Kinge. I heard that y^e^ Saboth day after this Court she deliv[er]ed a peticion to the King in the name of all the rest, shewing that they refused not this oath obstinately, but y^t^ they were afraid, it was against y^e^ Subiectes iust libertie, to be compelled to take this oath and shewed that they would willinglie be tryed by his Maiesties lawes, or by his Maiestie or any of his Lordes & Nobles. Abigal Delamar.

Amy Holland did not appeare because of sicknes, as it was given in answere for her Holland.

.....

Grafton an vpholster [*sic*] one of y^e^ BlackFryers Companie is ordered to giue bond for his apparance [*sic*] at y^e^ next Court. Grafton.

Sara Barbone being bound to appeare is escaped, & hideth her selfe, her bond to be certefyed in y^e^ Exchequer. Barbon.

Wilson. Phillis Wilson, being one of them that were taken at B*lack*-Fryers was tendered y^e^ oath, but she refused saying, she durst not sweare vnadvisedly. King*es* Advocate. It is before y^e^ Magistrate by authority of an act of parliament.

Escape of some of y^e^ Conventicle^rs^ out of prison. London. 7. or 8. of those that were best able to beare it are let out of prison, & therefore for my p*art* I will consent that it be ordered that noe more be sent to y^e^ new prison, till these be brought againe. The keep*er* prayed their lord*shi*pps pardon, & promised to endeavour to finde them againe: London: Let these women therefore for y^e^ honour of y^e^ Court be sent to other prisons, & the rest to be removed some to one prison & some to an other.

.....

[Under the date June 14, 1632.]

.....

Con-venticlers. Rawlins, Harvy, Arthur Goslin, Howland, Robert Bye, Iohn Smith, & others were taken at a Conventicle in a wood neare Newington in Surrey vpon the Saboth day last. and being now brought to the Court they were required to take their oathes to answere y^e^ Articles put in against them. Two of them answeare they will not sweare at this time: and as they were goinge out, Harvy put on his hatt, w*hi*ch was presentlie taken offe and he was complayned on, & being called back to answere it, he saith, he was shiftinge [?] away, & putt on his hatt. Another saith that a lawfull Magistrate had examined them alreadie, and therefore he will not sweare to be heere examined. London. yo*ur* examinations taken before S*ir* [————] he sent to me. there is nothing in it but that yo^u^ mett togeather to conferre vpon y^e^ word of God as farre as yo^u^ vnderstood the same, & to pray, w*hi*ch yo^u^ might answere heere: but yo^u^ tell this Court that it is not a lawfull power & authority: And of the same minde are those that were taken att BlackFryers: for they peticioned y^e^ King to be tryed by his Iudges, by his Lord*es*, declyning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiccion: this they tendred y^e^ last Sunday: This yo*ur* obstinacie will cause yo^u^ to be proceeded against at the common law, & be made abiure the

Kingdome, & if yo$^{u}$ returne to be hanged. King*es* Advocate speaketh to another of them. yo$^{u}$ are required to take yo*ur* oath to answere the Articles put in against yo$^{u}$. Prisoner. I cannot sweare, because I know them not in certeinty. London. Let these (may it please yo*ur* grace) be sent two and two to other prisons, & none to the new prison, because the keep*er* hath lett some of y$^{e}$ principall of y$^{e}$ other Companie to escape. Andrew Sherle will not lay his hand vpon the booke. Robert Bye com*m*inge into the Court, the Bishop of London spake kindly to him saying, come, thou lookest like a good fellow that will take thy oath. Bye. I am Christ*es* freeman; I owe obedience to God & y$^{e}$ King, and those that are lawfullie sent by him, but to noe others: Att w*hi*ch there being some laughter he said, I am in deed & good earnest, I dare not take this oath: An oath is for the ending of a controversie, but this is made to be but the beginninge of y$^{e}$ controversie. ArchBishop of Canterbury; yo$^{u}$ doe shew yo*ur* selves the most vngratefull to God & to his Ma*ies*tie the King & to vs the Fathers of the Church: if yo$^{u}$ haue anie knowledg of God, it hath come through & by vs or some of our predecessors: We haue taken care vnder God to give milke to y$^{e}$ babes & yonglinge*s* and strong meate for the men of vnderstanding, yo$^{u}$ haue y$^{e}$ word of God to feed yo$^{u}$, the Sacramente*s* to strengthen yo$^{u}$, and we support yo$^{u}$ by prayer, for all this what despight do yo$^{u}$ returne vs: yo$^{u}$ call vs abhominable men, to be hated of all that we carry the Marke of the beast, that we are his members: We doe beare this patiently, not because we haue noe law to right vs, but because of yo*ur* obstinacie: But for yo*ur* dishonouring of God & disobeyinge y$^{e}$ King, it is not to be indured: when yo$^{u}$ haue readinge, preaching, singinge teaching, yo$^{u}$ are yo*ur* owne Ministers, the blinde lead y$^{e}$ blinde, whereas his Ma*ies*tie is God*es* vicegerent in y$^{e}$ Church, the Church is nothing with yo$^{u}$, & his Ministers not to be regarded, and yo$^{u}$ runne into wood*es*, as if yo$^{u}$ lived in p*er*secution, such an one yo$^{u}$ make the King, to whome wee are soe much bound for his great care for y$^{e}$ truth to be preserved amonge vs and yo$^{u}$ would haue men beleiue, that he is a Tyrant, this besides yo*ur* wickednes, vnthankfulnes, & vngraciousnes toward*es* vs the Fathers of the

Church. Therefore let these men be put 2. and 2. in severall prisons.

Conventiclers. Iohn Cooke, Iames, Margery Cleaver, Iohn Iapworth, Anne [————] One was a yong girle, these were all taken in another Conventicle, but where I cannott directly say, I heard about Christes Church in London: These alsoe all denyed to take the oath, and were all sent to severall prisons, two, and two./

[Under the date June 21, 1632.]

.....

Against Ralfe Grafton one of the Conventiclers. Ralfe Grafton an Vpholster dwellinge in Cornehill, London, was required to take his oath to answere y^e^ Articles. He was said to be a principall ringleader of those Conventicle^r^s that mett at BlackFryers. Kinges Advocate this is a rich man dwelling within the Citty, my Motion is, that your Grace & the Court would sett a Fine vpon this man if he shall refuse to answere, that other [*sic*] may be warned for contemning of y^e^ Court. London. M^r^ Advocate I thanke yo^u^ for this Motion. Kinges Advocate, I require yo^u^, & the Court requireth yo^u^ to take your oath to answere to matters of your owne fact as farre as yo^u^ know, & are bound by law. Grafton. An oath is a matter of an high nature, & must not be taken rashlie, I dare not therefore take this oath. We have done nothinge against y^e^ law: it was noe Conventicle, there was nothinge spoaken against y^e^ King, nor against the State, I dare not take y^e^ oath and I am noe Ringleader of any to evill. Canterbury. Yo^u^ mett without law, yo^u^ had no authority. Pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes. Wherefore, the Court for his Contempt in refusing y^e^ oath sett a Fine of two hundred pound vpon him, & committed him to prison. Grafton. I have bayle heere readie if yo^u^ please to take it, I doe tender it to yo^u^. London. Canterbury. Noe away with him to prison: if he come not in by the day of mittigation, let the Fine stand.

# XXI

## NOTICE OF A SEPARATIST CONVENTICLE TAKEN AT A HOUSE IN "REDERIFFE" IN DECEMBER, 1638

Surrey *to wit.* The Examinacion of Edward Hurst late of Cambridge Tayler taken the 23 of December. 1638.[1]

bailed He saith that he came to london on thursdaye laste. and lodged at the bull in Bishopsgate streete and this daye he enquiringe for a freind of his, was tould that he might finde him att a howse in Rederiffe, which made him goe thither, where he founde aboute, 20. or 30. persons men & woemen. beinge all strangers vnto him & knewe not the names of either of them, where they did all pray togeather and dispute & exhorte one an other, and there Contynued aboute 2. howers togeather vntill the Constables & officers of Rederiffe came in tooke some of them awaye. this Examinate denyeth that he did exhorte or dispute with them or any of them Edward [?] hurst [?]

bayled. Phillippa Cowlake. St Giles Cripplegate parishe
Frances Greene the wife of Phillipp Greene

of the same. Clothworker.

bayled Iohn Dyer of Barmondsey Lastmaker he saith that they were all Readinge a Chapter & expoundinge of it

[1] S. P., Dom., Charles I., Vol. 404 (118).

bayled— Beniamyn Pratt of oldstreete weauer.

word taken— Martha Elliott of S$^{t}$. Gyles Cripplegate.

Thom*as* Tyle bayled. John Ellis of S$^{t}$ Pulkers Cordwainder

Nicholas Rothwell and Peter Blake Churchwardens of Rederiffe togeather with John Stoakes & John Lingwood Constables goeinge aboute in tyme of devine service to see good orders kepte did finde the said p*er*sons & diuers others that ran & Convayed themselues awaye gathered togeather in a howse where on [one] hayward dwells, he beinge at sea And his wife with her frends in the Countrye, but howe they came into the howse the said officers knowe not.

nicolas Rothwell, peter blake } Church wardens

John Lingwood, John stokes } Constables

Thomas Laish
John Lewis

# XXII

## DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PRISON LIFE AND DEATH OF THE SEPARATIST, SAMUEL EATON

[A Petition concerning him which was probably sent to Archbishop Laud in 1638.][1]

To the most Reverend Father in God William Lord [Laud] Arch=B$^{pp}$ of Canterbury his Grace Primate and Metrapolitan of all England.

Humbly Sheweth. The most humble Peticion of Frauncis Tucker Bachelour of Divinity and Prisoner in Newgate for Debt.

That whereas there is one Samuell Eaton Prisoner in Newgate committed by your Grace for a Scismaticall and dangerous Fellowe. That the said Eaton hath held diverse Conventicles in the said Gaole some whereof hath bin to the number of 70 persons, or more and that hee was permitted by the said keeper openly, and publiquely to preach vnto them, and that the said Eaton hath oftentimes affirmed in his said Sermons, that Baptisme[2] was the Doctrine of Devills, and its Originall was an Institucion from the Devill and oftentimes hee would rayle against your Grace, affirminge that all B$^{pps}$ were Hereticks Blasphemers, and Antechristians, That the said keeper haueinge notice hereof by the peticioner whoe desired him to bee meanes that these greate resorts and Conventicles

[1] S. P., Dom., Car. I., Vol. 406 (No. 64), in the Public Record Office, London.

[2] [? in the Church of England.]

might bee prevented and that hee would reproue the said Eaton for the same, and remoue him to some other place of the Prison. That herevpon the said keeper in a disdainfull manner replyed that the peticioner should meddle with what hee had to doe and if hee did dislike the said Eaton and his Conventicles hee would remoue the peticioner into some worser place of the Prison, That at this time there was a Conventicle of 60 persons or more that the said keeper comminge into the Roome where this Conventicle was, and the said Eaton preachinge vnto them and maynteyninge dangerous Opinions, havinge viewed the said Assembly hee said there was a very faire, and goodly Company and stayinge there some season departed without any distaste thereat, to the greate encouragement of the said Eaton, and the said persons to frequent the said place &c That the said keeper had a strict Charge from the highe Commission to haue a speciall Care of the said Eaton &c, that since this the said keeper hath severall times permitted him to goe abroad to preach to Conventicles appointed by him the said Eaton. That dayly there doth resorte to the said Eaton much people to heare him preach....[that just before the death of the petitioner's wife, after she had been removed from the chamber she had occupied in the prison] the said Chamber was by the keeper assigned over to the said Eaton, it beeinge the most convenient place in the prison for keepinge his Conventicles—.

.....

.....

[An Account of his Burial, evidently written on "Aug: 31: 1639."][1]

M^r^ Alsop, I wrote to you the other weeke, how y^t^ I had beene with Eaton [i.e., Samuel Eaton]. This is further to let you understand y^t^ upon sunday, being Aug. 25. I was accidentally at his buriall, for being to visit one in Bethelem comming

[1] S. P., Dom., Car. I., Vol. 427 (107), in the Public Record Office, London.

home, I met Brownists & Anabaptists (I thinke) at least 200 with Eatons corpes, so I went backe with $y^m$ to see how they would bury $y^e$ dead, & I observed how they answered such as met $y^m$, demanding who $y^t$ was to be buried, they said it was one of $y^e$ Bishop's prisoners, but when they came to $y^e$ grave, it being made ready for $y^m$ in $y^e$ new Church yard neere Bethelem; they like so many Bedlams cast $y^e$ corpes in; & with $y^r$ feet, in stead of spades cast & thrust in $y^e$ mould till $y^e$ grave was allmost full: then they paid $y^e$ grave maker for his paines, who told $y^m$ $y^t$ he must fetch a minister, but, they said, he might spare his labour.

I could wish $y^t$ you would certify my Lord of this, also $y^t$ I had beene at $y^e$ gate house...

# XXIII

## A BROADSIDE WHICH MENTIONS THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF SAMUEL HOW, AND THE PLACE AND DATE OF HIS BURIAL IN 1640.

The Coblers threed is cut.

*OR,*

The Coblers Monument: wherein, to the everlasting memory of the folly of *Samuel How*, his doctrines are detected, and his life and death described: together with an Epitaph written on him at the Last, with an exhortation to the ignorant to avoid such phantastick spirits; he being buried in the high-way neer *Dame Annes a Clear* (a place so called, neer Shores-ditch, on tuesday, Sept. 29. 1640.[1]

IT is an ancient and worthy custome to weep for the deceased; but How? not for this *Samuel How*, who being a Cobler, took upon him beyond his Last, the mending of soules, and in a Sermon preached to above an hundred persons in the Nags-head Taverne neere Coleman-street, delivered many absurd Doctrines & Vses, against humane Learning: and afterward published and entitled his Sermon, *The sufficiencie of the Spirits teaching without humane Learning, for the light and information of the*

[1] This definite information serves to correct a misstatement as to the date of Samuel How's death made in Vol. I., p. 201. On account of the exigencies of space the heading of the broadside, as here reproduced, has been differently arranged from that of the original, which consists of only six lines in all.

*ignorant:* wherein he published his owne folly, it being a knowne truth, that Learning is no essentiall immediate cause of grace, but an instrumentall cause, whereby the knowledge of the Scriptures are gained; and humane learning doth prepare the soule, and enlarge it to receive divine mysteries, and by judgement assisted by Gods Spirit, to finde out hidden truth, and to defend fundamentall Principles. How durst then this lump of ignorance assume so much boldnesse, with reasons drawne *ab absurdo*, from absurdity, to detract from learning, or with his blacke Thumb wax so impudent to touch, much lesse to handle humane Science or Learning; who will thus requite him with an old saying:

*Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.*

The ignorant will onely be
To humane Learning an enemie.

But his folly hath been formerly enough derided: For as sober obedient knowledge is rewarded, so foolish ungrounded opinions are disregarded: they are like *Solomons* thornes, crackling under the pot; & it is likely these flames of the Coblers zeal proceeded from pottles of wine, it being preached (as above said) in the Nags-head Taverne, neere Coleman-street: a fit place for such a preachment, tending to the disgrace of all humane learning; which scorning to answer a foole according to his folly, it seems that this selfe-conceited Cobler, *Samuel How*, being stricken with shame, and afterward with sicknesse, sneaked out of this world and died; and being formerly excommunicated out of the Church, he was buried in the high-way, after his threed of life was cut. And therefore let the Reader take this as a monument of his folly; whereupon in conclusion may be engraven this Epitaph.

An Epitaph on *Samuel How* a Cobler, the unlearned enemy of humane Learning.

THis vnlearned Cobler, by the Spirits discerning,
*Was a great enemy to humane Learning.*
*How could that be? Why* How *that in a stall,*
*Could sing Queen* Dido, *or the Ladies fall,*

*Would in a Taverne needs set up his stage,*
*And against humane Learning shew his rage.*
*Doctrines and Vses from his Text he drew,*
*That was us'd to draw threeds through an old Shew:*
*And with sharp argument he seemed to prick,*
*As with an Aule, all learning to the quick.*
*And having wrought himselfe so out of breath,*
*The Coblers thred of life was cut by Death.*
*And in the high way buried under ground,*
*Studies how he all learning may confound.*
*He needs no Monument, nor Epitaph,*
*For at his folly every one doth laugh,*
*To think how he did go beyond his Last,*
*The Coblers end is shame for folly past.*
*Then let no ignorant above his reach,*
*Speake against learning, or attempt to preach.*
*Lest having spet and spoke, they doe come off,*
*Like this unlearned Cobler with a scoff.*
*Who having done his worke, by death is paid*
*His wages, and in the high-way is laid.*
*Where he no foolish Arguments can hold:*
*For* How, *his zeale, and corps in ground are cold.*
*He that was humane Learnings great Kil-kow,*
*Lies in the high-way, you need not ask* How?[1]

Printed for *Richard Harper* at the Bible and Harp in Smithfield. 1640.[2]

[1] In the original this epitaph is printed in two columns.
[2] In the original the imprint consists of only one line.

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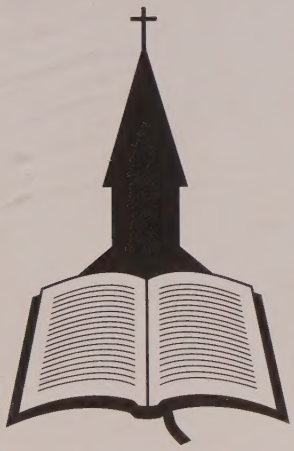

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